

EVOLUTION
AND
CHARACTER
OF THE
ELIZABETHAN LYRIC.

Thesis for Ph. D.

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The title - 'Evolution and Character of the Elizabethan Lyric' has restricted the study of the subject within certain well-defined limits. These limits have been strictly observed first in an investigation of the earliest beginning of the lyric in England, secondly in a careful analysis of the foreign influences that counted so much in its development and of the measure and proportion in which the native genius of the language and the native tradition of poetry interacted with, and assimilated the foreign influences, thirdly in a consideration of the essential characteristics of the Elizabethan lyric proper, and lastly in a discussion of the nature of the reaction against the Elizabethan lyric tradition.

A reference to Anglo-Saxon lyrics - though they have very little connection with the later flowering of the lyric in England, has been necessary to show how the Germanic tradition of verse broke up, and how the accentual Latin verse quickened the birth of modern poetry. There is another point about Anglo-Saxon lyrics - a serious and melancholy note which has persisted in English verse perhaps as a heritage from Anglo-Saxon. Now as to the form, alliteration, though considerably altered from its original character by the introduction of rhyme and strophic form, endured for sometime to come after the dying out of Anglo-Saxon language and literature.

Several factors contributed to the shaping of the lyric in England - (1) The Latin hymns (with which the poets themselves were pretty familiar) supplied the basis of the new prosody, accentual, and supplied also various metres and stanza-forms as well as material and theme.

(2) The large body of Latin lyrical verse, composed by Wandering Scholars, and having a wide circulation, could not but leave some impress on the early lyric in England in its note of gaiety, in its naivete, in its nature-description.

(3) The Provençal lyric which is acclaimed as the birth of modern poetry, did not directly affect the English lyric, but it seems probable that its complicated stanza-forms and elaborate rhyme-schemes led to similar experiments in English verse.

(4) The Northern French lyric exercised a more direct influence. It was the medium through which the courtly sentiment of love permeated the English lyric. It also supplied some lyrical forms and stanzas, and they were adapted to the expression of courtly love and religious sentiments.

Next coming to the Early English lyrics proper, we can divide them into two groups - religious and secular. The religious group carries on to a certain extent the Anglo-Saxon tradition, but the poems centring round the Virgin Mary add a new warmth and colour to the religious sentiment. In the secular group there are a few poems, light and delicate in fancy and winged with tender love-longing.

The carols of the fifteenth century provide examples of the perfect lyric art in their swing and rhythm, in their directness and simplicity of emotion, in their perceptual imagery and in their occasional verbal felicities.

Then the epoch of Wyatt and Surrey heralds in the influence of Italian poetry and music. Its chief result is to be seen in the introduction of new lyrical forms, Italian and French, and of the Petrarchan convention. Still it has to be admitted that Wyatt's sonnets and rondeaus do not count much. It is his light-footed songs that are a real contribution to the lyric of the age. Surrey has a command of smoother verse and rhyme and plays a more important part in stabilising English prosody.

The Elizabethan lyric proper begins with the publication of the Miscellanies. In Tottel's Miscellany the poetic tradition of Wyatt and Surrey is mainly carried on, but we see that already Renaissance culture is refashioning the lyric

At first it provides the poet, as Grimald (Tottel's Miscellany) with learned classical allusions, In The Paradise of Dainty Devices and The Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions the same standard of versification is followed; only there is greater polish and smoothness and a more skilled handling of metres. A Handful of Pleasant Delights stands by itself. Its contents are ballads which seem to have partly absorbed and assimilated the sentiments and phraseology of courtly love. The Phoenix Nest almost anticipates the perfection of the lyric art which is exhibited in England's Helicon, and we can believe that by this time the influence of Italian poetry and music has become fully matured. England's Helicon represents the tradition of Spenser and Sidney, and they both stand for Italian influence. In Davison's Poetical Rhapsody Italian influence seems to be on the wane. The most interesting group of poems in this volume is by A.W. whose identity is still an unsolved problem. A.W., it appears, owes more to Latin lyric, and is essentially classical in the resonance of his lines and in the clarity of expression. His experiments in classical metres too are symptomatic.

When we turn to the song-books, it is interesting to note that even though the madrigal originally came from Italy, as regards both form and matter, it showed a wide divergence. It expressed the typically Renaissance spirit with its gay appetites, its rich fancies and pagan rapture. It is difficult to say whether the songs were influenced by the poetry of the Pléiade, but they have almost the identical themes. The Airs which form an important division of the Elizabethan songs contain specimens of more accomplished and artistic lyrics. Dowland and Campion are worthy names in airs. Campion again seems to have drawn his inspiration from Latin lyric and elegiac poetry, but his musical taste and ability have given an individual tone and colour to his lyrics.

It appears then that when the courtly-pastoral vein of Spenser and Sidney is nearly exhausted, the poets here and there begin to turn to Latin lyric and elegiac poetry for inspiration. A new grace in the meantime seems to have been added to the Elizabethan lyric by the poetry of the Pléiade. The poetry of the Pleiade supplied both themes and various stanza-forms. The Anacreontism of Lyly, the lilting rhythm and varied stanza-forms of Lodge, the tunefulness of Greene are all of French derivation.

The Miscellanies and Song-books practically end the epoch of the Elizabethan lyric proper. So long as the influence of Spenser and Sidney was dominant, we can imagine an integrity of lyric tradition - the lesser poets having more or less the same accents as those of the greater. But there appeared poets with an individual note of their own. A.W. in a sense broke away from Italianate diffuseness. Campion was an innovator in sentiment and manner of expression. This disintegration of the Elizabethan lyric tradition can be traced right down to Ben Jonson and John Donne. Jonson deliberately discards the ornate diffuseness and mythological phraseology of the Elizabethans. Donne, equally a radical in the mode of expression, draws his inspiration from mediaeval scholasticism - and his lyrics have nothing in common with those of the Elizabethans; they are a blend of an imagination, passionate and melancholy, and subtle dialectic. It is a recognised fact that Jonson and Donne effect a revolution in taste. The lyric henceforth becomes weightier in thought, deeper in passion and more closely related to life and realities; the careless rapture, the unstudied grace and the impulsive melody of the Elizabethans are now gone. It is but proper then that the study should be carried no farther than Jonson and Donne. Carew, Suckling, Lovelace and Herrick, followers of Jonson as they are, are more or less students of Latin lyric and elegiac poetry. Herbert, Crashaw and Vaughan develop, and refine on the metaphysical strain of

of Donne. Though the two groups cannot be so sharply divided as we may suppose, all the poets have at any rate a different manner from the Elizabethans.

The term 'lyric' has been interpreted in a somewhat liberal sense, to include sometimes poems which are too long to possess any lyric unity of emotion. But all the time the original association of music with lyric has been kept in view, because in no other group of English lyrics this association has been so close and constant as in the Elizabethan. It is difficult to have an exact and comprehensive definition of a lyric. But we can easily understand its implications. The two elements in a lyric to which attention is particularly drawn are (1) the song-quality and (2) subjectivity. Palgrave's definition of it as a poem that shall turn on one thought, one feeling, one situation, stresses another feature - its emotional unity.

In a study of the Elizabethan lyric we are, however, more concerned with the connection of the lyric with music. At any rate poetry and music were one in the beginning. The earliest dawn of poetry was in the half-articulate musical expression which grew from the repetition of a single word or phrase into a coherent whole by the addition of more expressive elements and which is represented by the earliest form of chorus and refrain. Perhaps the earliest beginnings of the lyric are to be traced to choral songs and choral dances. And these primitive lyrics were objective. This objectivity can be easily explained by a reference to the condition under which they were produced. They were communal in character. It is the group-feelings and group-sentiments which they expressed. It is often the woman's voice that we hear in these early primitive lyrics. The character of these songs begins to change when more advanced conditions of life determine their production, for example, when individual singers as the Troubadours begin to compose them

for the benefit of an audience who take no part either in singing or composing them. The era of art-lyric opens with the Troubadours, and the lyric now tends to give expression to the subjective note of thought and sentiment.

It is the Renaissance which introduced into poetry the subjective note, and now the tendency has been to stress this element in a lyric above the song-quality. When the lyric becomes over-weighted with thought, the song-quality naturally drops off, and the critical attention necessarily concentrates on the intellectual element - on the expression of the subjective experience in the lyric. In the Elizabethan lyrics the song-quality is more important. A distinctly personal note is rarely heard in them. Love is the general theme. The different moods of love that are expressed have almost a level uniformity. Of course the personal colouring of either the conventional sentiment or expression is there. But of what is really meant by the personal note or subjectivity there is very little. As a matter of fact the Petrarchan ideal of woman-worship leaves little room for variation in individual sentiment, but reduces all sentiments and expressions to one pattern.

The distinctly personal note is heard in Donne. The Elizabethan lyrics generally express conventional sentiments. The lyric canon to be applied to them, therefore, is whether they have the song-quality and whether they have unity of emotion. Then there is another question - whether they have the true lyric form. In lyric poetry the form is as important a matter. As a rule they are almost inseparable in lyric poetry. Particular attention has, therefore, been paid, in the following pages, to lyrical forms.

Except for passing references to sonnets no systematic treatment of them has been attempted. First the sonnet by reason of its strict and formal structure precludes the idea of song-quality. Secondly it offers little scope for the free play of emotion to the variation of cadence as there should be in a true lyric.

Finally I take the opportunity to express gratitude to Professor Grierson. He very kindly drew up the plan of study for me. The chapter-headings are substantially based upon it. To formulate any new set of judgments upon the Elizabethan lyric which has been so exhaustively studied by previous authorities is indeed a difficult task. But the plan that was supplied by my Professor is, I believe, the best one for giving a new presentation of facts and a connected view of the ebb and flow in the lyric movement in the Elizabethan age. I must thank my Professor again for having gone through all the chapters of my thesis with ungrudging care and helped me with innumerable valuable suggestions.

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CHAPTER I

considered to be an unending warfare with the physical forces of the world. But the light, airy, lyric measures are not

ANGLO-SAXON LYRICS

From the existing specimens of Anglo-Saxon poetry, it appears that, built as it is upon a rigid formula, it has a long tradition behind it, as we can see from its poetic diction, from its system of parallelism, from its descriptive epithets, from the trend of thought and reflection expressed. The Anglo-Saxon epic, Beowulf, if it cannot rank with Homer's Iliad or Virgil's Aeneid, has a unique position as the first epic of considerable merit in a Germanic language. A large section of the remaining Anglo-Saxon verse, though fettered by the epic manner of expression and limited in subject-matter, has still a distinction of its own. Perhaps nowhere in early poetry has the mood of pensive sadness been so exquisitely expressed. An ever-present sense of the crushing weight of destiny or Wyrd and a passionate conviction of the inevitable end of all things might lie behind it. And whether we call it 'elegiac' for the sake of convenience, or whether we regard it as the characteristically Anglo-Saxon outlook or temperament, this strain of melancholy recurs again and again in English poetry, and not seldom the sweetest songs have been those that tell of saddest thought.

In Anglo-Saxon verse, therefore, we may look for part of lyric motifs, if not the lyric form which was long wanting. The important fact that we have to remember at the beginning is that the whole body of Anglo-Saxon verse is the remnant of an epic age. The rigid epic mould which it inherited and kept unaltered, restricted development in the direction of lyric. It has strength and even grandeur enough to express the grim delight of a warrior, the passionate sorrows of a gleeman, fallen on evil days, the facts and philosophy of a life,

no me curren nam
þe ic him mækefarn minne dæda
Sweete angyrd

considered to be an unending warfare with the physical forces of the world. But the light, airy, lyric measures are not within its compass.

If we cannot certainly discover in Anglo-Saxon verse the lyric measure and lyric form, unless we reckon the strophic arrangement and the recurring refrain of Deor's Lament as a nearer approach to it, we shall find that the Anglo-Saxon elegies yield lyric matter, though of a limited range. The elegies are of course discursive and meditative, and we can hardly expect any lyric unity of emotion in them. They have what we may call a dramatic setting: we can describe them at best as dramatic monologues. Despite the dramatic setting and non-reality of the speakers (for example, in The Wanderer and The Seafarer), Saintsbury's phrase 'subjective intensity' is applicable to the lyric cry in the two poems, it being subjective in relation to the speaker, real or imaginary, in a given circumstance.

The interest of these elegies to a student of English lyric lies in the fact that here we have "the promise of an art, rather than the art itself," - "lyric fragments, broken from the early saga-like verse and lines full of the Scop's energy, but not a single complete lyric, not one, that is, in which the fluid element has gained for itself a fit and transparent vessel so devised as to enhance its ideal content." Even Stopford Brooke's claim that Deor's Lament is the father of English lyrics is disputable. It may be said to have only the elementary lyric form in the strophic arrangement and refrain.

A few extracts given below will show the nature of the lyrical quality of these elegies:

The opening lines of The Wanderer are in the true lyric mood:

nis nu cwicra nan
þe ic him modsefan minne durre
sweotule asecgan

Here is one passage remarkable for its imaginative beauty:

ƿinceð him on mode	ƿæc he his mondryhten
clippe and cnysse	ond on cneo leege
honda and heafod,	swa he hwilum ier
in geardagum	gief-stolas breac
ƿonne onwæcneð eft	wineleas guma
gesiht him beforan	ƿealwe wegas,
ƿæfian ƿrimfugas	ƿraedan ƿefra,
hreasan hrim and snaw	hagle gemenged
ƿonne heað ƿy hefigram	heortan þenne
sare æfter swaesum	sorg bið geniwed
ƿonne maga gemynd	mond geondhweorþeð

The blending of the wail of the human heart with the external aspects of nature is a unique feature of this early literature.

In The Wife's Complaint we perhaps hear the solitary love-cry that there is in Anglo-Saxon verse:

ƿonne ic on uhtan	and gonge
under ætrea	geond ƿas eordscaƿu
ƿær ic sittan mot	sumarlange daeg
ƿær ic wefan maeg	mine uwaec siƿas
earfoða ƿela	forþon ic æfra ne maeg
ƿære modecare	minre gerestan

It is the burden of human sorrow and weariness that is repeated with little or no variation in these poems.

We may note here the effect of the introduction of Christianity upon Anglo-Saxon verse. If it did not very considerably modify the heathen stuff of literature, it certainly strengthened the lyric motive and lyric impulse. Christianity stirred the depths of individual consciousness; hence the personal note is so pronounced in Caedmon and

and more particularly in Cynewulf. As Stopford A. Brooke observes, ".....there was one sorrow which was entirely new, and which created a new world of poetry. It was the sorrow for sin, for a violent, sensual, or wasted life. There is a well-known passage of Cynewulf's in which he laments his past, and which is the first utterance of that poetry of regretful soul, so much of which belongs to England, and in which so many poets have represented their inmost personality with a vividness which has endeared them to our imagination. It is not so much the religion of it for which we care, nor in which lies the poetry. It is the personal cry which has been wrung out of them by their religion. The source of human love lies deep in our nature. But the source of this religious passion lies deeper still, more profound than any plummet sounds; and when we hear its voice, we hear that which lies at the very bottom of the abyss of personality." The typical example of such inwardness is The Dream of the Rood. The point is that Christianity gave a deeper and fuller meaning to the personal note - and supplied additional lyric motive and lyric impulse.

Now if we call these elegies (we have referred to above) lyrics - and we have no reason why we should not except for their stiff and unmelodic form, we have to qualify the statement by saying that they have been cast in a strictly epic mould. The verse-structure is an inheritance of the epic tradition, and the plastic form and varied melody of lyric cannot be evolved from such a scheme, depending as it does on alliteration as the main principle, on accent which plays but a subordinate part as compared with modern verse, on the middle pause which gives a staccato movement to the line - and no foot-unit and no variation of rhythm.

CHAPTER II

BREAK-UP OF ANGLO-SAXON

Anglo-Saxon literature, both in prose and poetry, particularly in poetry, shows a fair degree of advance as compared with the contemporary achievements of either any Romance or any Teutonic tongue. But it is doubtful whether Anglo-Saxon, left to itself, could have produced still better things. The fact seems to be that it had exhausted all its resources.

Saintsbury remarks "that for sometime before the arbitrary line of the Conquest the productive powers of the literature had been failing, and the language itself was showing signs of change. No poetry of the first class seems to have been written in it much after the end of the ninth century, little prose of a very good class after the beginning of the eleventh; and its inflections must in time have given way - were, as it is said by some, actually giving way - before the results of the invasion and assimilation of French and Latin."

The era of the revival of West-Saxon, initiated and fostered by Alfred, meant much less original production than the transference of the whole body of Anglian verse into West-Saxon. It could not certainly arrest the decadence of Anglo-Saxon. The strength and stability of the language had so long rested on its rigid and elaborate inflectional system, but in the North the inflections had nearly broken down, partly as the result of a process of simplification and partly of contact with the Danes. The West-Saxon dialect resisted the change for the time, but when once the process of disintegration had begun, it would have shared the fate of the Northern dialect, Conquest or no Conquest. The Norman Conquest then had little to do with the dying out of Anglo-Saxon literature and language.

the prosody of one language upon another. The result was What it did was to give a fresh lease of life to Latin among the clergy, and to establish French as the language of the court and nobility. It virtually meant the banning of the English language; and it was as a matter of fact relegated to the 'lewed' and ignorant multitude. The conservative influence of literature gone, the changes in the structure of the language that began earlier in the North, went on apace. When it re-emerged into view a hundred and fifty years after the battle of Hastings, the change was complete - as complete as new birth - a change from synthetic to analytic character, from a pure to a mixed vocabulary. The most obvious gain of the language was its marvellous flexibility, while the large accession of vocabulary from Latin and French gave it facility in expressing every shade of meaning, and the combined influence of the three tongues immensely increased and enriched the musical resources of the language.

But the old system of prosody no less than the language needed as wholesome a change. If we examine the occasional poems in the Saxon Chronicle, Judith and The Battle of Maldon excepted, which correctly follow the old tradition, we find that it was too breaking up like the language. There are signs of the weakening of alliteration, an increasing use of assonance and rhyme, and even the introduction of the strophic arrangement. All this is evidence of a groping for freer rhythm and freer verse-forms. We do not know whether the revived English language would have been able to evolve a system of prosody adequate to its purpose, unaided by Low Latin and partly by French. As a matter of fact all the vernacular tongues of Europe, then in a state of pupillage like English, were helped on to their prosodies by Latin. When we refer to the influence of Latin in forming, or rather reforming the prosody of English, we do not mean the imposition of the

the prosody of one language upon another. The result was achieved by a process of compromise and naturalisation. But before we go into the nature of it in detail, we shall have to consider the prosodic change, illustrated in Latin hymns, which had a direct influence upon English prosody. Each syllable was either long or short, and a long syllable was equivalent to two short ones. The accent was a more powerful factor in Latin prosody than in Greek, but the principle of quantity, imported from Greek, "checked for a time the native energy of the Latin accent." This "foreign prosody" was pretty well managed by the Latin poets of the Golden Age. But it soon becomes apparent that the Latin ear was not very acutely conscious of the quantitative difference between syllables, and that there was increasing difficulty in later verses in observing the strict laws of quantity.

In the services of the church, as Saintsbury notes, "The syllable had an extraordinary promiscuity of values, determined apparently by accent, by musical setting or suggestion, and by many other things, besides or contrary to the original prosodic quantification....."

It is difficult to assign the exact reasons for this confusion of the quantitative values of individual syllables. Partly it might be the result of adaptation to the new spirit of the times, we might almost say, a non-classic spirit generated by the fusion of the Latin and barbarian elements in the Empire; partly it might be the result of the reviving energy of the Latin accent. The reasons given by French do not seem to be improbable:

- (1) the growing ignorance of the quantity of syllables;
- (2) the necessity of using words (particularly in hymns) that were understandable by the common folk, or words of religious significance, which would otherwise be excluded by the strict laws of quantity.

In the verse of Prudentius (348-410) the process was actually at work:

CHAPTER III

LOW LATIN PROSODY

Latin prosody was constructed on the Greek model. Each syllable was either long or short, and a long syllable was equivalent to two short ones. The accent was a more powerful factor in Latin prosody than in Greek, but the principle of quantity, imported from Greek, "checked for a time the native energy of the Latin accent." This "foreign prosody" was pretty well managed by the Latin poets of the Golden Age. But it soon becomes apparent that the Latin ear was not very acutely conscious of the quantitative difference between syllables, and that there was increasing difficulty in later verses in observing the strict laws of quantity.

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In the verse of Prudentius (348-410) the process was actually at work:

he allows accent to determine the quantity of a syllable, and varies the quantity of the same word as he changes the metre.

Let us illustrate it by a few examples, taken from earlier as well as later hymns. Not that there were no examples of hymns, written in the old quantitative measure; there is a fairly large number of them among the early hymns. But we are concerned here with the establishment of rhyme and accent in Latin verse, and we are to note the instances in which they were beginning to occur. To take a very early example, we quote below the opening lines of one of Hilary's hymns, or one that has been attributed to him - The Last Judgement:

Apparebit repentina dies magna domini,
fur obscura velut nocte improvisos occupans.

It is almost accentual, and the metre is trochaic tetrameter catalectic. Even in Ambrose, one of the earliest and most popular hymn-writers, though he wrote in quantitative measure, there are anticipations of rhyme and assonance. In many anonymous hymns, evidently of an earlier date, we may see that the old prosody is giving way before the new. We quote two examples in which accent is taking the place of quantity:

Ad cenam agni providi,
stolis albis candidi,
post transitum maris rubri
Christo canemus principi.

The metre is iambic dimeter which is also a favourite one with Ambrose and his school. The second example in which accent seems to be more clearly established is as follows:

Verbum supernum prodiens,
a patre olim exiens,
qui natus orbi subvenis
cursu declivi temporis.

Here we have a regular rhyme scheme - a a b b. Here is an example of iambic trimeter acatalectic :

Sancti venite, christi corpus sumite,

sanctum bibentis quo redempti sanguinem

As an example of trochaic tripodies, which seems to have been a popular measure too, we may quote the famous hymn:

Ave maris stella,
 Dei mater alma
 atque semper virgo,
 felix caeli porta.

The most interesting, though pretty early, experiment in a very elaborate but regular six-line stanza, and in varying rhythm is the famous song of Godescalc:

Ut quid jubes, pusiolo,
 quare mandas, filiolo,
 carmen dulce me cantare,
 cum sim longe exul valde
 intra mare?
 o cur jubes canare?

In hymns of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries - in the hymns of Adam of St. Victor, of Stephen Langton, of St. Thomas Aquinas, of Thomas of Celano, etc., rhyme, accent and varied stanza-forms are fairly established.

Let it be noted that rhyme, no less than accent, changed the fundamental character of the old prosody, and we might almost say that it played a more important part, in the beginning at any rate, in the reconstruction of the prosody of English verse. The introduction of rhyme in mediaeval Latin verse was certainly an innovation, though we do not mean to say that rhyme was unknown to Latin - stray instances of internal and final rhyme can be picked out from Virgil, Ovid, Martial, Horace, etc. But we cannot agree with Guest when he says that the final rhyme first originated with the Celtic races, and was early transferred to Latin and thence to English. Rather we should consider rhyme to be potentially existing in every human speech; whether it is brought into active use or not in this

CHAPTER IV

or that speech is a different affair.

When rhyme first began to appear in Latin hymns - and it appeared as early as the third century, it served a twofold purpose : (1) it definitely marked the end of each line; (2) it made the hymns easy to remember, rhyme being an effective aid to memory. It was not, however, until the twelfth century that rhyme had fully entered into its own.

Trench writes, " We may trace it step by step from its rude, timid, and uncertain beginnings, till, in the later hymnologists of the twelfth and thirteenth century, an Aquinas, or an Adam of St. Victor, it displayed all its latent capabilities and attained its final glory and perfection, satiating the ear with a richness of melody scarcely anywhere to be surpassed. At first the rhymes were often merely vowel or assonant ones, the consonants not being required to agree; or the rhyme was adhered to, when this was convenient, but disregarded, when the needful word was not readily at hand; or the stress of rhyme was suffered to fall on an unaccented syllable, thus scarcely striking the ear; or it was limited to the similar termination of a single letter; while sometimes on the strength of this like ending, as sufficiently sustaining the melody, the whole other construction of the verse and arrangement of syllables was neglected."

We should not forget that one important reason why English versification has been the principle of equivalence or substitution, and that it is a direct inheritance from Anglo-Saxon poetry in its practice of admitting unaccented and unlettered syllables almost ad libitum. It is, it is not only, but one of the basic principles, distinguishing English versification from French; and some of the finest results have been achieved, even in the experimental stage of English poetry, by its application, however limited.

CHAPTER IV RECONSTRUCTION OF ENGLISH PROSODY

Now we can examine how Latin prosody helped to reconstruct English prosody. It was not a question of bodily lifting Latin metres into English verse, but a model was supplied by Latin hymns to the vernacular poets of the day, "almost every one of whom," as Saintsbury writes, "even if he had but small Latin in a general way, heard these hymns constantly sung."

The favourite hymn metres were (1) Iambic Dimeter, (2) Catalectic Trochaic Tetrameter, (3) Iambic Trimeter. Courthope traces the octo-syllabic measure to the iambic dimeter. But it is more likely that it was derived from the acatalectic tetrameter, when divided by leonine rhyme; and the rhyme-scheme was either a a b b or a b a b. The catalectic iambic tetrameter, when split up, yielded one of four feet with a monosyllabic ending, and one of three feet with a disyllabic ending, the noted example being

Bytuene Mersh and Averil.

Similarly from the tetrameter brachycatalectic we get the measure of

With longing y am lad.

Thus the English lyric measures can be shown to be a more or less variation of Latin metres.

We should not forget that one important agency in English versification has been the principle of equivalence or substitution, and that it is a direct inheritance from Anglo-Saxon poetry in its practice of admitting unaccented and unalliterated syllables almost ad libitum. It is, if not the only, but one of the basic principles, distinguishing English versification from French; and some of the finest results have been achieved, even in the experimental stage of English prosody, by its application, however limited.

We have noticed above that alliteration was weakening and rhyme creeping in in Anglo-Saxon verse, written in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The first essential thing before English prosody could be placed on a sound basis was that alliteration and the middle pause should go. But old customs die hard; so in the English verse of the post-Conquest days they are still active. In the Canute Song, for example, alliteration is present, though considerably weakened, but in the attempt towards hammering out a regular rhythm and in the tentative foot-division the new spirit is evident. The aid of alliteration is deliberately invoked in Layamon's Brut, but the author cannot prevent rhyme intruding between the line-halves, nor can he consistently maintain alliteration. It illustrates at any rate how the old prosody is breaking down before the new. In another considerable body of verse, the Ormulum, the metre, if anything, is an adaptation of the Latin iambic tetrameter catalectic, and is neither accentual nor alliterative. We mention these two poems as interesting experiments, the former in the old style and the latter in search of new effects, - and they contain the promise of better things to come. In the Brut there is already suggestion of the octosyllabic measure, and it is fully established in The Owl and the Nightingale; when the experiment is carried a step farther by substituting a trisyllabic for a disyllabic foot, there is the foreshadowing of the great Christabel metre as in Genesis and Exodus.

The dates of these poems have been placed between 1200 and 1250. During this period the necessary experiments have been made, leading to the discovery, thorough understanding and wide application of the main principles of English, or modern English prosody. There was the danger of strict syllabic uniformity being imposed upon English verse, first appearing in the prosody of the Ormulum, and later strengthened by the example

of French poetry. In the state of metrical lawlessness even syllabic uniformity served but a useful purpose. But it would have been an evil fate for English verse, if it had renounced for syllabic uniformity its freedom of movement, secured by the principle of equivalence or substitution. In the lyrics of the fourteenth century characteristically English rhythm is in full swing, and in the measure of freedom with which the octo-syllabic verse is treated, alternating between lines of 8 or 7 or 6, and in the occasional substitution of a trisyllabic foot, we believe there is sufficient safeguard against the danger. The elaborate stanza-forms and complicated rhyme-schemes of some of these lyrics are distinctly traceable to the influence of Provençal or more correctly French lyrics. The lyric poets of the fourteenth century had, at any rate, the advantage of a language, suppld and enriched by a commingling of tongues, and with the promise of yielding the best and most exquisite results in melodious expression - a language yet in the making, but already proving its fitness for song, and also the advantage of a fairly, if not fully, equipped prosody, based on accent, foot-division, equivalence, and with the liberty of all possible variations and combinations of line-length, and in possession of the necessary number of serviceable metres. It was for them but to carry the experiments still farther; and this they did by trying and adapting the various lyrical forms of French poetry. If very few of these exotic lyric stanzas could find a permanent place in English verse, they were certainly helpful to the early singers in thumping out the latent music of the language and articulating their lyric feeling. If their verse is not always smooth and melodious, if they sometimes fail to observe strict metrical propriety, if all their accomplishment is but a tentative effort for song, we must say that the preludings to the Elizabethan song are here.

CHAPTER V

Among anonymous LATIN HYMNS

A brief sketch of Latin hymns is necessary to lead to our study of the beginnings of English lyric. We have shown above that the accentual prosody of Latin hymns supplied a model to the vernacular poets of the day. The influence of Latin hymns can be seen not only in the form, but in the matter too of the religious lyrics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The earliest epoch of Latin church poetry extends from Hilary and Ambrose to the end of the pontificate of Gregory the Great. Deriving its impulse from the Greek church music, the Latin hymn pursues an independent course of development by deliberately abandoning the traditional Greek prosody. Hilary is described as the first hymn-writer. The earliest reference to Hilary's book of hymns, or rather a book of hymns supposed to be written by Hilary, occurs in St. Jerome. On the evidence of the same authority we may assume a general diffusion and popularity of the hymns in his day, for he writes that one might hear "the ploughman at his hallelujas, the mower at his hymns, and the vine-dresser singing David's psalms," even before their introduction into the church.

It was sometime about 530 that Benedict appointed the hymns to be regularly sung in the church, from which the practice soon spread to Italy, Spain, Gaul, etc. Ambrose and Prudentius belong to the earliest epoch. They were followed in the latter part of the sixth century by Gregory and Venantius Fortunatus. The Ambrosian hymns, free as they were from any theological subtlety, were more popular than the Gregorian. The epoch of the distinct mediaeval type of hymns which arose in the sixth century, extends from Gregory to Hildebrand. To this epoch belong Bede, Paulinus and Theodulph with his famous processional hymn - Gloria, laus et honor tibi sit Rex Christe Redemptor.

The very titles of his hymns - Jesu Salvemur, Jesu
Among anonymous hymns of the same period there are some of
remarkable beauty as Urbs beata Hierusalem, Alleluia piis
edite laudibus, etc.

The invention of the Sequence by Notkar marks the
beginning of the later mediaeval epoch of Latin hymnody. Its
structure was originally irregular and unmetrical. As Ker
writes, "The Sequentia or Prosa, which comes into favour in
the ninth century, chiefly through the school of St. Gall, is
a new kind of Latin poem, with a new principle of verse - or
rather an old principle rediscovered and applied in a new way.
The sequence was a tune before it was a poem, and the rule of
the sequence, as poem, is to follow exactly the notes of a
melody. It came from the Alleluia, which concluded the
Graduale between the epistle and the Gospel. It was the fashion
to prolong the Alleluia in a "jubilant" song - without words -
which was often long and musically elaborate. The tunes were
found hard to remember, and experiments were made in fitting
words to them, possibly by Alcuin among others. But the first
attempts were soon made obsolete by the rapid development of
the sequence under the direction and example of Notkar of St.
Gall." The introduction of the metre and fully developed rhyme
was, however, a matter of time. Veni, Sancte Spiritus
illustrates the transition from a simply rhythmical to a
metrical form. The most celebrated of the sequences are Dies
Irae by Thomas of Celano? and Stabat Mater Dolorosa by Jacobus
de Benedictus. The sequences were wedded to perfect melody in
the school of Adam of St. Victor, to which belong St. Thomas
Aquinas and St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

In the last mentioned of the hymn-writers we observe a
deviation from the strictly theological manner of expression
in his introducing the note of warm and passionate devotion in
his sequences.

The very titles of his hymns - Jesu dulcis memoria, Jesu dulcedo cordium, Jesu rex admirabilis, Jesu decus angelicum, forming but one long poem, are redolent of a human sweetness and tenderness that enters into these outpourings of the soul. Perhaps we may derive from St. Bernard the strain of erotic mysticism which first appears in the Love Ron of Thomas de Hales, a delightful lyric in eight-line stanzas, written probably before 1240, and which gives so much of lyric rapture to the songs, connected with the Virgin cult. As some critics point out, the chivalrous ideals of the twelfth century may have something to do with it. While it is generally true that the chivalrous ideals have reacted upon purely religious sentiments and refashioned the expression of these sentiments, and while we find that in a group of religious lyrics even the conventional phraseology of amorous poetry is adopted (particularly in addressing the Virgin Mary), it will be equally true to say that St. Bernard leads the way in this orientation of religious feeling and expression.

The more direct influence of Latin hymns upon the early religious lyrics may be considered under three heads:

(1) translation; (2) adaptation; (3) suggestion of the lyric motive and lyric theme.

Under the first head we find that the whole body of lyrics composed by William Herebert, are translations of Latin hymns. "William Herebert was a Franciscan who died, Bale states, in 1333, and was buried in the Convent of his Order at Hereford. The series of seventeen pieces of translation by Herebert..... is found in the last quire of Phillips MS. 8336. In the margin, opposite the beginning of each, appears the name 'Herebert.'" (Carleton Brown). Of the hymns that were translated, the most popular seems to be the anonymous hymn, Ave Maris Stella. We find no less than three versions of the hymn.

One is by Herebert(Heyl, levedy, so-stoerre bryht); the second is in MS. Bodley 425(Heile! sterne on the se so bright), printed in Anglia, xxix.411; the third is in Merton Coll. Oxford MS. 248(Wyl be thow, ster of se) in which two more hymns are combined - Quem terra pontus aethera(Daniel, Thes. Hymn.i.172) and Alma redemptoris mater(Daniel, Thes.Hymn.ii.318). There are two versions of Veni Creator spiritus, "the most famous of Latin hymns," - one by Herebert, and another in MS. Bodley 425, printed in Anglia,xxix.409.

Under the second head we find either the lines or the echoes or both of the popular hymns, recurring in some of the most exquisite lyrics. The haunting melody of Ave maris stella seems to have rung continually in the ears of these poets. Here is an excellent adaptation:

Ave maris stella,
The sterre on the see,
Die mater alma,
Blessed mot scege be!
Atque semper virgo,
Pray thy sone for me
Felix celi porta,
That I may come to thee.

Alma redemptoris mater again appears to be a fairly popular hymn, and a good adaptation of it is As I lay up on a night (Early English Lyrics, p.106). We may refer to another lyric, much less known, Ihesu, swete is the love of thee(Hunterian Museum MS. V.8.15), which is a clear adaptation of Jesu dulcis memoria.

Under the third head there are pretty common examples in which a Latin phrase or a Latin line, sometimes taken from a hymn and sometimes from a scriptural text, has set the lyric

CHAPTER VI

feeling free. Such an example is In Bedleem, in that fair cete (Early English Lyrics, p.138). Instances of Latin refrain are quite frequent. If the Latin refrain had not much to do with the stirring of the lyric feeling, it certainly helped in giving weight and fixity to the rhythm. In the lyrics, Sodenly afraid and His body is wapped all in wo (Early English Lyrics, p.144 and p.146) we find the motive of Stabat mater, repeated with a variation, as was justified by the setting. Their relation to the development of the vernacular lyrics of the day has not been sufficiently indicated except in the direction of a few satirical and drinking songs, it is possible, we believe, to show their diffusive and permeative influence, lasting down to the time of the Renaissance.

We are not thinking here particularly of the Latin poems, satirical and political, written in England between the reign of John and Edward II. We may presume that they were written by wandering scholars from the resemblance in manner and style, in metre and stanza and even in verbal echoes. The Latin poems, chiefly attributed to Walter Mapes and dated between the latter half of the twelfth and the middle of the thirteenth century are obviously born of the same impulse: but there is a difference - we find no pure lyrics among them, but mostly satirical pieces which are the only connecting link between the two.

As the Latin hymns supplied a model to religious lyrics, so the Carmina Burana supplied a model to secular lyrics. In the MS. of Benediktshausen we find serious poems too - hymns, didactic and satirical pieces, but the more charming portion consists of songs of love, songs of youth and songs of spring; and it is not unlikely that vernacular songs of a similar nature, though not many such exist in English, might owe their impulse to them.

CHAPTER VI

CARMINA BURANA

An interesting group of Latin lyrics, preserved in a manuscript (MS. of Benedictbeuren) in the Hof-Bibliothek at Munich, first brought to light in the nineteenth century, mostly secular in character, demands notice. These lyrics were composed by the university students of France, Germany and England, and had international currency. Though their relation to the development of the vernacular lyrics of the day has not been sufficiently indicated except in the direction of a few satirical and drinking songs, it is possible, we believe, to show their diffusive and permeative influence, lasting down to the time of the Renaissance.

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to get the whole poem swaying to its own music. In one of the

But before we discuss this point, we should have to carry the Latin lyric tradition to the earlier centuries, not that there is much direct connection between the earlier Latin lyrics and the student songs - for as a matter of fact they seem in a sense to make a fresh beginning, to mark the dawn of the mediaeval lyric, but that through these earlier lyrics we may clearly trace the tradition of the spring song in an unbroken line of succession, and in them we may chance upon stray hints and suggestions of what later crystallised into the cult of the wandering scholars.

We should perhaps start with an early poem as the Pervigilium Veneris of an unknown date and authorship, though, as Mackail points out, "its remarkable mediaevalisms have led some critics, not without plausible grounds, to place its date as low as the fourth or even fifth century." Whether it be of an earlier or later date, it is an important landmark in mediaeval lyric, - a poem that has both literary and metrical importance. Mackail writes, "We are on the very verge of the accentual Latin poetry of the Middle Ages, and the affinity is made closer by the free use of initial and terminal assonances, and even of occasional rhyme. The use of stanzas with a recurring refrain was not unexampled; Virgil, following Theocritus and Catullus, had employed the device with singular beauty in the eighth eclogue; but this is the first known instance of the refrain being added to a poem in stanzas of a fixed and equal length; it is more than half-way towards the structure of the eleventh century Provençal alba."

We quote again the words of Mackail to indicate its literary importance:

"The refrain itself - Cras amet qui nunquam amavit, quique amavit cras amet - has its internal recurrence, the folding back of the musical phrase upon itself; and as it comes over and over again it seems

to set the whole poem swaying to its own music. In one of the most remarkable of his lyrics (like this poem a song of spring), Tennyson has come very near, as near perhaps as it is possible to do in words, towards explaining the actual process through which poetry comes into existence: The fairy fancies range, and lightly stirr'd, Ring little bells of change from word to word. In the Pervigilium Veneris with its elaborate simplicity - partly a conscious artifice, and partly a real reversion to the childhood of poetical form - this process, is, as it were, laid bare before our eyes; the ringing phrases turn and return, and expand and interlace and fold in, as though set in motion by a strain of music.

Cras amet qui nunquam, quique amavit cras amet:

Ver novum, ver iam canorum, ver renatus orbis est;

Vere concordant amores, vere nubunt alites

Et nemus comam resolvit de meritis inbribus:

Cras amet qui nunquam amavit, quique amavit cras amet - in these lines of clear melody the poem opens, and the rest of the poem, a series of variations or embroideries upon the first four lines, and the first line perpetually repeats itself through the poem like a thread of gold in the pattern or a phrase in the music.

In the soft April night the tapering flame-shaped rosebud, soaked in warm dew, swells out and breaks into a fire of crimson at dawn.

Facta cypridis de cruore deque Amoris osculo

Deque gemmis deque flammis deque solis purpuris

Cras ruborem qui latebat veste tectus ignea

Uvido marita nodo non pudebit solvere

Cras amet.....

Flower-garlanded and myrtle-shrouded, the spring worshippers go dancing through the fields that break before them into a sheet of flowers; among them the boy Love goes, without his

torch and his arrows; amid gold-flowered broom, under trees unloosening their tresses, in myrtle thicket and poplar shade, the whole land sings with the voices of innumerable birds. Then with a sudden sob the pageant ceases :-

Illa cantat, nos tacemus: quando ver venit meum?

Quando fiam uti chelidon ut tacere desinam?

A second spring, in effect, was not to come for poetry till a thousand years later; once more then we hear the music of this strange poem, not now in the bronze utterance of a mature and magnificent language, but faintly and haltingly, in immature forms that yet have note of new and piercing sweetness.

Bels dous amies, fassam uh joe novel

Ins el jardi on chanton li auzel -

so it sings out in Southern France, "in an orchard under the whitethorn leaf;" and in England, later, but yet a century before Chaucer, the same clear note is echoed,

bytuene Mershe ant Averil, whan spray bigineth to
(By day mine eyes, by night my soul desires
spring."

Mackail forgets one thing: we are to hear this music again much earlier in the Carmina Burana. We have to refer to a still earlier poem, Copa Surisca, because one of its lines,

Pone merum et tales, pereat qui crastina curat!

has been quoted in the Carmina Burana, and may be regarded as the motto of the wandering scholars. In this poem a passionate appeal is made to the senses, - a plea for sensuality as if the pleasures of the senses matter alone. The note of ennui, languor of the spirit, is there too. The same note is struck by Petronius Arbiter. In these earlier lyrics we often come across a sense of weariness of the flesh, a heart-sickness, a wistful cry for an ideal that seems to have perished and can be reconstructed no more. These are the notes of a decadent and disillusioned age.

In a group of lyrics, of a little later date, we come closer to the wistful cry of the Carmina Burana. What exquisite, sense-thrilling intensity in the following brief piece!

Qualis nox fuit illa, di deaque,

(O Queen, quam mollis torus. haesimus calentes

Purple and et transfudimus huic et huic labellis

With these errantes animas. valete, curae

Though all mortales. With thou hast flung far from thee,

(Ah God, ah God, that when we two clung

The vi So close, our hyngry lips

If there Transfused each into each our hovering souls, This is

only by the Mortality's eclipse! (Miss Waddell)

Here is another from the MS. of Beavais: a better known love-

song is Te vigilans oculis, animo te nocte requiro, and images

It is de victa iacent solo cum mea membra toro. ous and perhaps

the oldest vidi ego me tecum falsa sub imagine somni It contains

the germ somnia tu vinces, si mihi vera venis. in the pastoral

not (By day mine eyes, by night my soul desires thee, of the

lover's heart Weary, I lie alone. possession of his beloved, the

and Once in a dream it seemed thou wert beside me; sang; the

o far beyond all dreams, if thou wouldst come!) in the

Carmina Burana is certainly more clear Miss Waddell. here than

elsewhere. We shall refer here to one poem from the ninth

In Ausonius' De Rosis nascentibus the theme is the passing

away of things, but it ends with an appeal to live - and to

live the life of the senses to the full. In the two lyrics

addressed by Venantius Fortunatus to the Lady Radegunde a

strain of tender wistfulness is intertwined with the most

idealised passion of the heart - "the devotion to something

afar from the sphere of our sorrow." The Provençal poets later

did much in giving an ideal character to the passion of love,

but certainly they never attained this exquisite refinement

of conception which transmutes love into something that is

eternal;

O regina potens, aurum cui et purpura vile est,
floribus ex parvis te veneratur amans.

et si non res est, color est tamen ipse per herbas:

purpura per violas, aurea forma crocus.

(O Queen, that art so high

Purple and gold thou passest by,

With these poor flowers thy lover worships thee

Though all thy wealth thou hast flung far from thee,

Wilt thou not hold

The violet's purple and the crocus' gold? Miss Waddell)

If there is anything parallel to it, it is in Shelley. This is only by the way: we hear a different strain in the Carmina Burana, but the same wistfulness. The much better known love-song is Iam, Dulcis Amica (MSS. Salzburg, Canterbury and Limoges). It is described by Miss Waddell as "the most famous and perhaps the oldest of the earlier mediaeval love-songs." It contains the germs of many later love poems: it has in it the pastoral note, or rather the idyllic note, the passionate cry of the lover's heart for the solitary possession of his beloved, the association of love-longing with the nightingale's song; the pagan rapture is there too. The note of the love-songs in the Carmina Burana is certainly more clearly articulated here than elsewhere. We shall refer here to one poem from the ninth century MS. of Verona, Andecavis Abbas, which anticipates the satirical song of the wandering scholars:

Andecavis abas esse dicitur

ille nomen primi tenet hominum;

hunc fatentur vinum vellet Libero

super omnes Andechavis homines

Eia eia eia laudes

Eia laudes dicimus Libero.

It is just the kind of songs in which church dignitaries were twitted.

Now we may pass on to the Confessio(of the Archpoet). While it sets forth the character and ideal of the wandering scholars, it is the most emphatic protest against the monastic spirit, and a passionate recognition of the charm and mystery of the fleshly craving:

juvenes non possumus
legem sequi duram,
leviumque corporum
non habere curam.

There are several songs of spring - and they are the most delightful collection - quivering with an exquisite, irrepressible sense of joy in life. They are again marked by fresh observation, by a genuine feeling for the beauties of nature and a rare skill in putting them into words.

Fronde nemus induitur,
iam ~~canunt~~ canunt philomena,
cum variis coloribus
iam prata sunt amena.

The poet is warbling "his native woodnotes wild."

The call of spring in their songs is the echo of the eternal youth in their hearts. As Miss Waddell writes, "It seems not possible that poetry should be so gay as this. These poets are young, as Keats and Shelley and Swinburne never were young, with the youth of wavering branches and running water. They do not look before or after, they make light of frozen thawings and of ruined springs: and if they came in the end to write their Ecclesiastes, the man who compiled this anthology has kept record only of their youth." This is no doubt true, but we may point out that while they celebrate the joys and glad animal movements of youth, sometimes we hear in their songs "the still, sad music of humanity." We quote one instance:

Applaudamus igitur
rerum novitati.

felix qui diligitur
 voti compos grati,
 dono letus Veneris,
 cuius ara teneris
 floribus odorat.
 miser e contrario
 qui sublata bravio
 sine spe laborat.

The note of wistfulness occurs again and again in their love songs:

Sile, philomena,
 pro~~tempore~~ tempore,
 surge cantilena
 de pectore
 O. O. totus floreo.

If there is much of sensuality in their love-songs, it is expressed with a simple and charming naivete. Here is an instance:

Ubra cum animadverterem
 optavi mamus, ut involverem,
 simplicibus mammis ut alluderem,
 sic cogitando sensi Venerem,
 Sedit in Ore
 rosa cum pudore,
 pulsatus amore
 quod os lamberem,
 hei lamberem, hei lamberem, hei lamberem
 luxuriando per characterem.

It is concrete, fleshly love which inspires their songs. They are not concerned with an abstract, idealised, colourless sentiment of love like the Provencal poets. As Miss Waddell writes, "For the love of these poems, it is not Dante's, nor Petrarch's, nor the dream love of Provence." Its end is possession. So is it too, but with less of fleshliness in the

English love-lyrics of the fourteenth century. There is another point. In the Carmina Burana the descriptions of nature are straight from personal observation, and it seems that so far as spring songs are concerned, the poets display a real feeling for nature. They do not care to study and reproduce specific details, nor do they show any penetrating insight; they only delineate broad effects - they have an eye for the form and colour of things. In English secular lyrics there are touches of nature-description, and they seem to smack of the soil - not set pieces of description as in Provencal lyrics.

Notwithstanding these similarities it is difficult to establish any actual points of contact between the Carmina Burana and the English secular lyrics. Ten Brink is inclined to father the secular lyrics upon the wandering scholars. It is not unlikely that English students, returning from the University of Paris which was in the twelfth century a great centre of learning, and with the musical phrases and cadences of the Carmina Burana ringing in their ears, or possibly with the manuscript of these verses in their pockets, might have tried similar compositions in English verse. But in absence of any such specific compositions we cannot hazard any opinion as to the exact nature of indebtedness of the English secular lyrics to the Carmina Burana.

With reference to the Harleian MS, Chambers writes, "It was with the Adans de le Hale, not the Thibauts de Champagne, that our monk was in touch during the wanderjahre in which he first heard the songs that he afterwards wrote down/ ^{amongst} ~~among~~ the apple-blossoms of his Herefordshire priory. And his gatherings contain more than one of those controversial pieces for and against womanhood, which was the outcome of a sceptical bourgeois reaction against the rigorous idealism of the amour courtois. The authors of his poems probably belonged,

like himself and like Adan de le Hale, to the order of clerici vagantes. It is a clerk and not a chevalier for whom the lady of the dialogue(No.vii) is ready to defy 'fader, moder and al my kun.' And thus may be explained the trialingual character of the collection, culminating in lines which are illuminating almost to the point of autobiography." Chambers gives such a simple complexion to the whole matter! We may believe with him that the collector of the songs was a monk, and very likely one belonging to the order of clerici vagantes, and the authors of these songs were monks like ~~himself~~ himself, though it has not yet been definitely proved; but though among these songs there are one or two pieces not very complimentary to woman, we cannot think that they reflect the bourgeois reaction. We shall speak of this bourgeois reaction later in connection with the Roman de la Rose. One point is, however, clear from the statement of Chambers: At least the model of the Carmina Burana was before the writers of these songs. In the tone and spirit of the drinking carols we do catch the far-off echoes of the Carmina Burana. In a few love-songs, the opening lines describing spring(No.vi, Early English Lyrics), or a mingling of a serious and light vein, or the call of spring(No.xxxiii, Early English Lyrics) seem to connect them, not in a direct line of descent, nor as the result of deliberate imitation, but rather through the assimilative character of the singers of the age, with the Latin songs of the wandering scholars. The note of wistfulness, so characteristic of the love-songs in the Carmina Burana, occurs rarely. There is one example: "Western wind, when wilt thou blow,"(No.xxxi, Early English Lyrics). By the way, we may note the details of physical description in one or two poems. Chambers quotes one instance(p.275, Early English Lyrics). There are two more instances(No.v and No.xvi) in Wright's Specimens of Lyric Poetry. These were certainly written in the twelfth and all of them before the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

We may connect this feature with the tradition of earlier Latin poetry. Professor P.S. Allen in his article on Mediaeval Latin Lyrics traces the origin of such "pieces dealing with the mistress bit by bit" to monastic and clerical celibacy.

Much has been written about the wild, reckless and dissolute life, led by these wandering scholars. We need not repeat it here. There are stray examples of intellectual Bohemianism even in these days; and the life of the wandering scholars, if anything, illustrates intellectual Bohemianism deliberately adopted and practised, and, let us add, organised on a larger scale. We have purposely refrained from using the ~~opprobrious~~ opprobrious term "goliard" for two reasons: first though their lives might have been disreputable- we do not mean that the lives of all of them were so, much of their lyrical composition was not; secondly, the term has been restricted by some, notably by Wright, to the class of Latin satirical poetry which he has collected under the title of Latin Poems, attributed to Walter Mapes, "because these pieces appear to have been most generally published under the name of the goliards, (goliardi), a class of clerks who answer to the class of general society in the middle ages, distinguished by the titles of ribalds (ribaldi), lechers (~~leccatores~~ leccatores), and the like." Professor P.S. Allen too writes, "Goliard like 'villein' has become a wide term of derogation and reproach and little is therefore to be gained by associating the name with a great mass of mediaeval Latin poetry which deals in every possible way with almost everything under heaven from the tenth to the fifteenth century." However there is not much in a name.

About the date of these lyrics Miss Waddell points out that the latest of the Carmina was dated about 1225. Many of them were certainly written in the twelfth and all of them before the second quarter of the thirteenth century - "the good brief

moment," as Miss Waddell writes, "before the bourgeois shoulders himself into literature, before Jean de Meung laid his not overclean hands upon the rose."

At the outset C H A P T E R VII

NEW SENTIMENTS (COURTLY LOVE and BOURGEOIS REACTION)

Ker writes in The Dark Ages, "Everything that is commonly called poetry in the modern tongues may in some way or other trace its pedigree back to William of Poitiers singing -

"Farai chansoneta nova,
 Ans que vent ni gel ni plova;
 Ma donna m'assaj'em prova

The dominant *Consi de qual guiza l'am*".

The thrill of rhymes like these is the first awakening of the world for that long progress of literature in which the Renaissance and other momentous changes are merely incidental and ordinary things, compared with the miracle of their first beginning."

It is in Provence that we are to look for the dawn of the courtly lyric. One critic says, "Provence is a morning sky of early summer, out of which innumerable larks rain a faint melody (the sweeter because rather half divined than heard too distinctly) over an earth where the dew never dries and the flowers never fade." In the beginning of the twelfth century Provence enjoyed an era of peace and prosperity. "That country," says Macaulay (Ranke's History of the Popes), "singularly favoured by Nature, was in the twelfth century the most flourishing and civilised portion of Western Europe. It was in no wise a part France. It had a distinct political existence, a distinct national character, distinct usages and a distinct speech. The soil was fruitful and well cultivated: and amidst the cornfields and vineyards rose many rich cities, each of which was a little Republic, and many stately castles, each of which contained a miniature of an imperial court. It was there that the spirit of chivalry first laid aside its terrors, first took a humane and graceful form, first appeared as the inseparable associate of art and literature, of courtesy and love."

At the outset it should be remembered that Provencal poetry was the accomplishment of conscious art. The popular theory is that the beginning of the Provencal lyric is traceable to the primitive May dances, and that the refining and elaborating of the folk-song stuff gives us the substance or content of this highly artificial poetry, and that the perfection of the art is reached when the varied devices of rhyme and rhythm are added to refinement of sentiments - a theory that was ably propounded by Gaston Paris.

The dominant impulse of song in the Provencal lyric is love - love addressed to a married woman. Why is this so? We shall have to look at the conditions of the social life of the time. We cannot have a true picture of the ~~time~~ age in the phrase - subjection of women. Their condition was even worse than anything connoted by that phrase. Men married because women could inherit and transmit wealth, and because they wished legal children to succeed them. The heiress and mother was only valued; wives were only "married women." Matrimony was thus a servitude for women - "a bond forced upon them by the ambition and interest of their guardians." Wives were compelled to remain in a state of semi-imprisonment under the guard of a menial, the guirbaude, while their husbands were out on knight-errantry. Hence arose the idea that love and marriage were incompatible, and the question was seriously discussed by the Court of Love, presided over by the Comtesse de Champagne. "In time society found it best to allow them a safety-valve, and they were permitted to receive the homage and praise of knights and poets and listen to their passionate avowals, with the understanding that nothing beyond the line should be done." (Provence and Languedoc by Cecil Headlam). This was the essential conception of courtly love. Into it entered much of mystic exaltation, much of poetic idealisation. While the mistress was regarded as a being of transcendental beauty, virtue and goodness, the lover, whether a knight or a singer

was a humble suppliant of her favour - a relation immensely flattering to the vanity of the fair sex in those days for the reason that "while a woman married was a chattel, a woman really loved was a queen." We should also remember that such devotion on the part of the lover, leading to self-effacement, was often fruitful of noble and heroic deeds. This was after all an ideal. With the fire of love on the lips, it was but natural that the fire of love might kindle in the poet's heart, and involve another heart too. Thus if there were now and then lapses from the ideal, we may still believe that the ideal was generally sought to be maintained.

Now let us see how this ideal reacted upon human society. At the bottom of it was reverence for womanhood, which, it has been observed by many, was a trait of the Teutonic races. This reverence (if it once existed) seems to have been pretty long dead. The ideal which the Provencals put before them meant then the revival of this reverence in literature, and in practice too. It takes long to establish a cult. Through Provencal lyrics these ideas of a new love, pure, tender, idealistic, all-submissive, all-enduring, involving a total change of attitude towards womanhood, meaning almost an exaltation and worship of the fair sex, were diffused through all classes of society until they began to influence the conduct of men towards women. We must at any rate recognise the liberalising and humanising effect of the new cult, and it marks the transition from barbarism to civilisation.

Courtly love soon came to be associated with a regular ceremony, a set of established rules and usages, conventional modes of expression and artificial forms of versification. First as to the ceremony, "By a ceremony modelled on that in which a vassal takes the oath of fealty to his sovereign, the poet-lover solemnly bound himself to be faithful to the lady of his choice. Kneeling before her whom he had chosen to worship, and who had accepted his devotion as expressed in many a song

of supplication, sung at her feet in the castle hall, the knight, with his hands joined between hers, swore to serve her faithfully until death. In return the lady promised her tenderest affection, put a gold ring upon his finger, as a pledge of union, and then, raising him, gave him a kiss, which was often the only one he ever received. Upon this ceremony as upon the whole strange friendship, it was the place of the husband to smile approval - and to pay his devotions at some other fair." (Provence and Languedoc).

To condemn the whole body of Provençal poetry as insincere, because concerned with a conventional type of love would certainly be wrong. At least the early singers among whom is Bernart de Ventadorn have the note of genuine passion sometimes. But when courtly love poetry became a fashion and craze, it naturally tended to artificiality and conventionalism. It was at this stage that an elaborate set of rules and usages was drawn up. It is in Andre le Chapelain's De Arte Honesti Amandi that the whole art and science of courtly love are fully developed:

"The treatise is divided with scholastic accuracy. In the first Book we learn, in twelve chapters, *Quid sit amor*, *Inter quos possit esse amor*, *Unde dicatur amor*, *Quis sit effectus amoris*, *Quae personae sint aptae ad amorem*, *Qualiter amor acquiratur et quot modis*, *De amore clericorum*, *De amore monacharum*, *De amore pecuniam acquisito*, *De facili rei petitaee concessione*, *De amore rusticorum*, *De amore meretricum*. The sixth chapter contains eight model conversations between lovers of different or equal rank, showing how ladies are to be wooed. The argument in each case is that nobility springs from virtue rather than from high birth, and throughout we find scattered most of the conventions already developed in Chretien de Troies, - the power of love, the pains of lovers, their wounds and sickness, dreams and longings, the doctrine of eyes and ~~heart~~

The story is left incomplete by the author. As such it exercised heart, concealment, etc. In the conversation in which Loquitur nobilis nobili, we have a description of the palace of Love with its four gates, an account of the punishment of loveless women after death, and twelve precepts given to the lover by the God of Love. In another conversation (Loquitur nobilior nobili) the lovers submit their case by letter to the Countess of Champagne, who answers under the date of 1174, giving the famous decision that love cannot exist between married persons. In the course of Andre's arguments he often refers to the laws of love, mentions romances, and quotes impartially Ovid, St. Paul, Solomon, and the Evangelists. The most sensual conceptions are found by the side of the most fine-spun conceits.

The second Book, on the conserving, augmenting, diminishing and ending of love, contains (chap. vii) twenty-one judgments rendered by Eleanor, Marie, Ermengarde, and the Countess of Flanders upon suppositious cases of disputes between lovers. The last chapter of this Book presents a code of love which a Breton knight brought from the court of Arthur, where he had found it attached to a falcon by a golden chain. The subject of Book III is, in imitation of Ovid, De Reprobatione Amoris."

(L.F. Mott: The System of Courtly Love

The exciting of such pp. 53-55).

We shall note here another phase of development: allegory in love. It is the necessary outcome of the courtly poets concentrating and refining more and more upon the abstract ideal of love. The allegory of love is fully developed in the Roman de la Rose, begun by William de Lorris about 1240. The story is simple: a lover enters a garden on a May morning, of course, in a dream and beholds a Rose (the symbol of the beloved) which he would fain pluck, but his foes are chiefly Danger, Jealousy, Shame, Fear, Slander, and they prevent him from carrying out his desire, though Venus is ready to aid him; and the result is that that the lover is twice expelled from the garden garden. The

The story is left incomplete by the author. As such it exercised it exercised tremendous influence upon literature for more than two centuries.

The second part is written by John de Meung about 1278. William's work consists of 4,000 lines; Meung adds more than 18,000 lines. And what a contrast in spirit! It is a direct satire upon the courtly sentiments of love. We have in the second part nothing but interminable discourses, addressed to the lover by Reason, his Friend and False-seeming, "which unfold a kind of disordered encyclopedia, taken from varied sources but penetrated with the author's spirit, a bold, cynical, nowise religious, eminently burgess spirit, and at times quite modern." The views which are propounded, particularly with regard to women, love, marriage, etc., are, to say the least, astoundingly realistic, and shatter the ideal of courtly love to pieces. The broad sweep of the satirical purpose comprises strictures upon the pretensions of the mendicant orders and upon ecclesiastical celibacy too. The second part of the Roman de la Rose marks, in the first place, the advent of the bourgeois spirit in literature. and secondly by its frank naturalism, by its open revolt against the ecclesiastical and courtly tradition it foreshadows the new era - the era of the Renaissance.

The ~~and~~iting of such a book as the second part of the Roman de la Rose did not mean the total extinction of courtly poetry. It voiced only a reaction. Nor do we believe that the bourgeois class was even indifferent to courtly ~~poetry~~ poetry. In the second half of the thirteenth century Toulouse appeared to be a centre of bourgeois literary activities. In the ~~fourteenth~~ ^{complete} fourteenth century the bourgeois triumph seems to have been. We shall only mention one significant fact: the principal inhabitants of Toulouse invited the Provençal poets to a contest, held on May-day, 1324, and the first prize, a violet of pure gold, was awarded to Arnaut Vidal for a hymn in honour of the Virgin Mary!

The late flowering of the troubadour art is to be seen in Italy. The Italian troubadours, if we may call them so, recreated it under a new impulse. If we find them repeating the old formulas, phraseology and conventions, we feel at the same time that they are touched with a new meaning. They seem to have put the real passion of the heart into the out-worn vehicle of expression. We further find that the sentiment of love, as expressed by them, is tending more and more to a spiritual character. This phase of development, we cannot say, is in a direct line from the troubadour tradition; we should rather be inclined to think that it has more to do with the bourgeois leavening. Again though the element of spirituality ~~in~~ in love can perhaps be immediately connected with the bourgeois rehandling of the courtly themes, it can as certainly be traced back to the union of allegory with love; yet there remains the fact that the spiritualising of love is essentially a bourgeois idea - and it is taken over by the Italian singers, and culminates in Dante's Vita Nuova. There is a difference again: the bourgeois poets turned the courtly lyric to the service of religion and morality, but the Italian singers brought it back again to the theme of love, though the typical mood of the courtly poet, singing of earthly love as a consummation and looking to nothing beyond the mistress whom he exalts and worships is no more there. But they have eschewed the satirical instinct, hardly suppressed, if not deliberately indulged, in the courtly compositions of the bourgeois poets. They approached love in an attitude of reverence which is a direct gift to them from the original courtly poets. Thus they breathed a new life into the courtly lyric, however it might have changed colour and tone. In Dante and Petrarch the refashioning of the courtly lyric under a new impulse is completed.

We may note here that the originality and triumph of the Provençal poets lay in the construction of stanzas, uniting

lines from 3 to 42 and carrying the sense from beginning to end. It meant that it was possible to devise an infinite variety of stanza-forms with perfect freedom as to the number of lines in a stanza, the length of lines, the kind of rhyme and the disposal of the rhymes. One condition insisted on was that all or at least a number of rhymes should be carried through, and all the stanzas should be precisely alike. Sometimes the last rhyme of a stanza became the first of the succeeding one, or the last word or line of one stanza opened the ~~next~~ next. It has nothing, however, of the elasticity and freedom of movement which is the essential characteristic of English verse; its basis is syllabic uniformity.

No direct influence of the Provencal lyric upon English poetry is admitted. Of Provencal poets Saintsbury writes (Flourishing of Romance and Rise of Allegory, pp.369-370): "In the capacity of teachers they were not without strong influence on their northern countrymen; they certainly and positively acted as direct masters to the literary lyric both of Italy and Spain: they at least shared with the trouveres the position of models to the Minnesingers. It is at first sight rather surprising that, considering the intimate relations between England and Aquitaine during the period - considering that at least one famous troubadour, Bertran de Born, is known to have been concerned in the disputes between Henry II and his sons - Provencal should not have exercised more ~~direct~~ direct influence over English literature."

We can easily imagine the permeation of the courtly sentiments of love into English poetry through the medium of the poetry of Northern French, for the Southern lyric forms and lyric stanzas were taken over by the Northern poets, and they in their turn handed on to their imitators stereotyped forms and moulds of verse and artificialised and conventionalised sentiments. Yet it seems hard to believe that there was no actual contact between Provencal and English poetry, particular

ly when we consider the metrical features of some of the Early English lyrics. The famous Burns-metre is now recognised as identical with that of William of Poitiers, and it is first used, with but little variation in the following poem of Harl. MS.:

"A wayle whyt as whalles bon,

A grein in golde that godly shone."

In the same manuscript there are scores of poems, the metrical features of which might have been influenced by Provencal models. The wheel arrangement in No. IV and double/rhyme, ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ in No. X (Specimens of Lyric Poetry), and the elaborate ~~rhymxxxxxx~~ rhyme-schemes and complicated stanza-forms, distinguishing the earlier lyrics from ~~later~~ the later, are evidence of such influence. In the English poems in The Political Songs of England from the reign of John to that of Edward II (Wright) there is stronger evidence still. Bob, wheel, tail rhyme, variation of rhythm, endless combination of line-lengths are all there. Yet English verse preserved its identity by adopting the foot, and not the syllable, as the prosodic integer, and by admitting syllabic equivalence and substitution. While denying the direct influence of Provencals upon English poetry, Saintsbury does recognise their influence upon English metrical forms: "It is probable - to turn the probability into fact would be an interesting exercitation.....that every non-alliterative stanza.....and some at least of the alliterative, have ~~been~~ exact precedents in Northern French, or in Provencal, or in both. It is certain that most have. But when we turn to these precedents, we shall ~~find~~ ~~not~~ find not merely fixed rhymes and numbers of lines, but a fixed internal constitution of lines likewise (accidents and errors excepted) on an absolutely syllabic basis." (History of English Prosody, Vol. I, pp. 121-22)

main a matter of personal taste.
connected partly FRENCH LYRICS

The earliest French lyrics are objective. And if we may accept Gaston Paris's theory, ~~theory~~ they were connected with the throbs of the human heart. May dances and May festivities. They were primarily chants de mai. Of these objective lyrics there is one kind, called Chanson d'histoire which contains the outline of a story or situation, and when the product of a more advanced art, may develop into a miniature drama of passion. It is always the woman's love that sobs out its pain with a tender wistfulness. Then there are the Chansons de toile, spinning or weaving songs, or ballads sung at women's work. Gaston considers these weaving songs as the earliest specimens of lyric in French. Springing from "unpremeditated art," they have little of literary quality. They often centre round a story, but the story is a negligible element - it is the refrain, lilt and cadence which constitute their main charm. The refrain of one of these songs, the most popular of the kind, - "Let the wind blow and the branches tremble! Softly sleep those who love," once heard, lingers in the memory by virtue of its quaint charm and old-world magic.

The aube, the pastourelle (though a little late in coming into fashion), the rondel are also among the earlier lyric forms. The aube is a woman's parting cry to her lover, when the lark at daybreak, or the watcher from the tower warns the lover to depart. In the pastourelle a knight meets a shepherdess, and makes love to her, either with a favourable or unfavourable result. The rondel is a dance song in which the refrain corresponds with one of the movements of the dance. These forms were not certainly confined to the poets of the North; we find them being cultivated by the Provençals, though in a limited measure.

The woes of unhappy married love as well as the delight of illicit love and ^{longing} ~~love~~ for the lover are sometimes dwelt on in these early lyrics. If somewhat indelicate - but that is

again a matter of personal taste - they have an indefinable grace connected partly with a directness of expression and partly with an unsophisticated and elemental passion. Perhaps in no contemporary poetry can we so distinctly and directly catch ~~the~~ the throbs of the human heart - perhaps nowhere is the naked passion of love so clearly imaged forth. All this is changed when the amour courtois takes possession of the lyric. It is now no longer the woman who sings her joy or grief in love - she recedes into the background and man begins to lisp in accents of love what she thinks of woman. And what he ultimately achieves is to refine away the elemental simplicity of the human passion, presenting it as form of elegant badinage. It is at this point that poetry becomes self-conscious - it becomes an art. So it happens that a break-away from the earlier lyric tradition is effected under the cult of the amour courtois, imported from the South.

Three centres of the new lyric cult were established in the North of France - at Paris, at Champagne, at Blois. The marriage of Eleanor, the discarded wife of Louis VII, with Henry II of England, was chiefly instrumental in inaugurating the epoch of courtly poetry in France. Her two daughters, Marie, wife of Henry de Champagne, and Aelis, wife of Thibaut de Blois, inherited their mother's admiration for the courtois art, and welcomed the troubadours at their several courts.

We shall have to note that while the exponents of the lyric courtois art in Limousin and the neighbouring provinces, even in Northern Italy, composed in the Limousin dialect, in the North of France the original tongue was found good enough for the purpose. The reason is obvious: both language and literature in the North of France were considerably developed when the influence of the Provencal lyric began to be felt there. The language which was in use in the North - and it was considerably different from that of Provence, afforded scope for greater richness and variety, and finer and steadier music.

If the Provençal lyric forms and lyric sentiments were taken over by the poets of the North, they not only preserved individuality of tone and colour, but brought the lyric art to higher perfection. They were not only imitators of the Provençals; they were creators too.

Gaston Paris writes, "Anyhow French lyric poetry is not a simple adaptation of Provençal ~~poetry~~ poetry. The vein, properly national, continued to flow, either alongside the current come from the south, or mixing with it. "Weaving songs" are still made in imitation of the old ones, and Audelfrei the Bastard, of Arras, even tries to compose them in the "courtois" fashion. Beside them may be remarked the curious group of the "chansons a personages," which almost always bring into play a wife's quarrels with her husband, some of which are of a fresh and charming poetry, and the shepherd songs, in which the poet is represented as striving with varied success to gain the love of a shepherdess whom he meets in the fields, the May songs and the caroles (ring dances), whose refrains, unfortunately, are nearly all that is left of them, inserted in poems of diverse kinds: all these little pieces are more or less unknown in Provençal poetry, but possibly have, like the latter, at the start, a Poitevin origin, save naturally the weaving songs, which are all French. Altogether French also are the earliest songs of the crusade, like that connected with the expedition of Louis VII in 1146, and the Satirical songs, of which we have only a few fragments. In the lyric poetry, subjected to Provençal influences, we recognise none the less features peculiar and French, and the more numerous and marked are these features, the greater is the value of the pieces. Those which are copied from the Provençal models are but faint reflections of these: such are the songs of Blondel of Nesle and the majority of those of Gui of Couci and Gace Brule. We find here the convention of the art of the troubadors: for matter, the lady's perfection, her rigours, the

poet's hopeless love, the fear of slanderers; for form, the same laws of rhythmic construction and rhyme, the same material of expressions; however the French did not adopt the use of the senhal, nor did they attempt the trobar clus, nor, in general, did they supply all the strophes with the same rhymes, nor follow the Provençals in their refined habit of rhyming, not the lines of the same strophe, but of one strophe to another. They often preserved the use of the refrain, abolished in the south, and the pieces which are supplied with it, though otherwise not exempt from Provençal influences, have a peculiar and often pungent savour; such especially are those of Gontier of Soignies. *an idea, and if the claim of love is*

"It is probable that we have lost the earliest lyric poetry of the Provençalised school. The first "courtois" songs to which we can relatively assign a date are those of Chretien of Troyes, composed no doubt at the court of Mary of Champagne towards 1170; they are full of Provençal ideas upon love. Those of Conon of Bethune are the most interesting we have: this great lord, who died in 1219 regent of the Latin Empire of Constantinople which he had helped to found, has put naturalness, truth and visibly the expression of personal sentiments into his songs. His Crusader's Song(1189) in which he shows his heart torn between the regret of leaving his lady and the duty of fighting for God, has served a model for many others, especially for Hugh of Berze, a crusader in 1202. Others are political or satirical, and at times of a real eloquence. *that were interesting*

"The imitated art of the trobadors never had in Northern France the position it had in its own land; the professional trouveres never acquired there the importance of the trobadors; but in the north as in the south, and even more so than in the south, it was cultivated by men of the highest class: Jean of Brienne, later on king of Jerusalem, Conon of Bethune, Gui of Couci, William of Ferrieres, the Vidame of Chartres, Hugh of

of Berze, Renaud of Salle, Tibaud of Blaizen, Gace Brule, are all great lords, or at least knights."

When That the influence of the new lyric cult in Northern France should sooner or later cross the Channel and touch English poetry is natural. Preoccupation with the theme of evanescence of things, of mortality was anything but wholesome to the progress of poetry. In the thirteenth century, we may believe, a new spirit was in the air. Its effect we can see in the direction of the secularising of literature, and the example of France was but a further incentive. The Owl and the Nightingale is an interesting revelation of the clash between the religious tradition and the new-born ideas, and if the claim of love is not at once established, at least a plea is held for it. It is interesting too in its form and structure - an adaptation of the French tenson, and the tenson is a variation or development of the jeu-parti, the earliest form of debate on questions of amorous casuistry, with which courtly poets amused themselves. The Owl and the Nightingale foreshadows the coming change. The lyric was not destined to be tied down to religious and moral themes. The elemental side of human nature demanded expression. Nor should we think that the courtly themes become the only motive of composition now; they serve to give a new tone and colour to both religious and secular lyrics. A mingling of religious, popular and courtly strains - that is what we find in the English lyrics of the day, and it made for variety, so badly needed then.

We may notice here some of the lyric forms that were introduced from France. Perhaps we have no trace of the primitive dance-song or May chant in English. The rondel and the balade which represent a later development, on the literary side, of the dance-song, are found in English. A few examples are given in Early English Lyrics - No.X (from Chaucer's Parliament of Foules), No.XVII (Charles of Orleans), and a fair number of balades as No.XII (Chaucer's Legend of Good Women), No.XVI (Charles of Orleans)

and the rest from Chaucer. A simple rondel consists of one strophe of eight or seven lines, and either one or two lines. When it is seven lines only, the first line constitutes the refrain. The simplest form of the simple rondel is AAaAaaAA with a refrain of three lines. Chaucer's rondel is an adaptation of this form: he makes it thirteen lines, uses two rhymes and keeps the three-lined refrain(ABB). The balade runs ababcCC. The later balade seems to have been an abridgment of the Chant Royal, which consists of five strophes, each of eleven ~~line~~ lines, and each line of ten syllables - all strophes identical, the same rhymes retained in the same order and the last line of the first strophe repeated at the end of each succeeding strophe and forming the refrain. The later balade is ababbcbc - three strophes, having the same metre, same rhymes and the same refrain, and concluding with a half strophe forming the envoi, the lines varying from eight to ten and the syllables from seven to ten. Chaucer makes the strophe of his balade either eight lines(ababbcbc) or seven lines(ababbcc), and sometimes adds an envoi(generally a full strophe) and sometimes omits it. No. XV(Early English Lyrics) is constructed on the principles of a virelai which generally preserves a sequence of rhymes: for example, if the first verse rhymes as AAbAAb, the second verse will rhyme as BBcBBc, and the third verse as CCdCCd and so on. The reverdie motive, which is traceable to the earliest ~~beginning~~ beginnings of lyric - the chants de mai, is represented by the Cuckoo Song and Lenten is come with love to toun. There are not a few poems, both secular and religious, modelled upon the pastourelle. The conventional opening of the pastourelle - L'autrier j'est (the beginning of the noted pastourelle by Marcabru:

The other day beside a hedge

I found a half-breed shepherdess.)

is exemplified by No. XXVII(Early English Lyrics):

have a character which has earned them the name of pastourelles. The scenes are placed This other day in a garden and shepherdesses; and is not this precisely? I heard a may amongst shepherds and shepherdesses. Right piteously complain, which the poets are making use were few. She said alway, deal with a deliberate attempt to preserve Without deny, The pastourelle, one feels, is the most so. Her heart was full of pain. chanson populaire, the In this poem we have a variation of the original chanson dramatique, which is not very strictly distinguishable from the chanson d'aventure, and the pastourelle is a wider term covering both forms. We may trace here by the way the different steps in the progress of the chanson dramatique; in the original form the poet listens to a young woman, complaining either of her tyrannical mother or of her cruel husband - and it may be pointed out here that in this form it is not very remotely connected with the typical chant de mai of the lover Limousine provenance: his wooing.

A l'entrada dal tems clar, eya

Per joja recomencer, eya by night;

Et per jelos irritar, eya

in which the lady of the May defies the jelos and declares her resolve to dance alone - a connection which is further established by the short description of May with which it begins; sometimes the poet witnesses a stormy scene between daughter and mother, ~~the poet~~ or young wife and husband, the poet taking part by consoling the young woman or by actually protecting her. This is modified in the next stage by substituting for the disconsolate wife a maiden, the victim of unrequited love and by cutting out the stormy scene (to which type belongs the poem we have quoted above); finally these laments are transferred to male lovers too. As we have said above, the pastourelle is but a late development of the chanson dramatique or chanson d'aventure. Chambers rightly says, "A large number of those chansons d'aventure which are not purely chansons dramatiques

have a character which has earned them the name of pastourelles. The scenes are placed among shepherds and shepherdesses; and is not this precisely because it was amongst shepherds and shepherdesses that the literary models of which the poets are making use were found? You have to deal with a deliberate attempt to preserve local colour. The pastourelle, one feels, is the most sophisticated variety of the chanson populaire, the nearest to the chanson courtois." Thus we see that when the ~~chanson~~ chanson dramatique or chanson d'aventure which retains elements of the folk-song, develops into the pastourelle, particularly of that type in which a man's laments are substituted for a woman's, it loses all connection with the folk. Nos. XXVIII and XXIX (Early English Lyrics) are good examples of pastourelle (though without the conventional opening), in which a humble maid is wooed. The leavening of the amour courtois is found in the last poem where the lover says in the course of his wooing:

I must observe the courte-law
By courteous manner or by might;
Custom may I none withdraw
That hath be used here by right.

The pastourelle motive seems to have been adapted to the religious lyric. A very good example is The Virgin's Second Complaint (Lambeth MS. 853) in which as the poet wanders, he meets a maiden mother weeping - and then he reports her laments for the death of her son. We have a combination of the pastourelle and lullaby motive in Nos. LXIII, LXIV, LXIX (Early English Lyrics). One good example of debat is No. VII. In French the debat was used for a variety of purposes, but here it is concerned with contention between a lover and his heartless lady. The opening stanza of No. CXLVIII (Early English Lyrics) is reminiscent of the aube motive. These are the lyrical forms which were imitated from French. The pastourelle and the aube seem to have been

the most popular, and we find examples of them even later. In English the courtly sentiments of love have sometimes been expressed through these lyrical forms, though they were not necessarily connected with the traditional courtly poetry.

Most of the religious lyrics may be grouped under the cult of the Virgin Mary. Through them are developed, often dramatically, the different aspects of the conception of Divine Motherhood. The motif is simple enough when the fact of the redemption of mankind through the birth of Jesus Christ is emphasised as in LI (Early English Lyrics).

Some of the episodes in the life of Jesus Christ are treated with rare tenderness and insight. We may notice here one or two examples. In LIIIV (Early English Lyrics) the mother's agonising love for her baby (Jesus Christ) lying in discomfure could not have been more pathetically expressed than in the cry:

Why akest thou thus in hay?
My swete bryd, thus it is betid,
Though thou be king verray;
But nevertheless I will not xxxxx cease
To sing, by by, lullaby.

To be thus able to enter into the mother's feeling and portray it in its elemental simplicity means much for the writer of the poem. Divine motherhood in its lightest grace, in its sweetest play is exhibited in this poem - a picture of the tenderest human relation between mother and child.

There is again a human touch in the conception of the Virgin Mary, weeping for the betrayal of Jesus Christ - LXXX (Early English Lyrics). It has a fine opening:

Sodenly afraid,
Half wakinge halfe sleeping,
And greetly distressed,
A woman sat weping.

The picture is so vividly arresting:

Her nose in her lappe laid, some said, alone by herself.

CHAPTER IX

EARLY ENGLISH LYRICS

(1) Religious and Moral

Most of the religious lyrics may be grouped under the cult of the Virgin Mary. Through them are developed, often dramatically, the different aspects of the conception of Divine Motherhood. The motif is simple enough when the fact of the redemption of mankind through the birth of Jesus Christ is emphasised as in LI (Early English Lyrics).

Some of the episodes in the life of Jesus Christ are treated with rare tenderness and insight. We may notice here one or two examples. In LXIV (Early English Lyrics) the mother's agonising love for her baby (Jesus Christ) lying in discomfort could not have been more pathetically expressed than in the lyric passion is all subdued, or rather waded into silence cry:

Why liest thou thus in hay?
My swete brid, thus it is betid,
Thogh thou be king verray;
But nevertheless I will not ~~xxxxx~~ cese
To sing, By by, lullaby.

To be thus able to enter into the mother's feeling and portray it in its elemental simplicity means much for the writer of the poem. Divine motherhood in its lightest grace, in its sweetest by-play is exhibited in this poem - a picture of the tenderest human relation between mother and child.

There is again a human touch in the conception of the Virgin Mary, weeping for the betrayal of Jesus Christ - LXXIX (Early English Lyrics). It has a fine opening:

Sodenly afraid,
Halfe wakinge halfe sleping,
And gretly dismayed,
A woman sat weping.

The picture is atonce arresting:

Her sone in her lappe laid, sche seid, slein by treson.

It is good enough as a dramatic representation of the mother's sorrow, but there is true lyric fervour in such lines as these:

Now breke hert, I thee praye! this cors lieth
so rewlie,

So beten, so wounded, entreted so fully

What wight may behold, and wepe not? None truly,

To see my ded dere sone bledinge, lo, this newly.

In LXXX(Early English Lyrics) it is the same theme over again, but it is treated differently. It is the death-scene of Jesus Christ. It is treated in its elemental simplicity. There is Christ's committing Mary to John. There is his last prayer to his Father in Heaven:

Fader, my soule I thee betake.

All the same we are made to feel the momentousness of the event. The lyric passion is all subdued, or rather awed into silence except for the cry of Mary:

My swete son, thou art me dere,

Why have men hanged thee here?

Thy hed is closed with a brere.

Why have men so doo to thee?

The poem is an example of the highly accomplished lyric art.

The motive of Mary's lullaby enters into several poems, of which No. LXXXVII(Early English Lyrics) is unsurpassed in simplicity of pathos and passion. There is one poem of remarkable interest - No. LXXXIV, with the refrain: Quia amore langueo. It has a note of transcendental passion. Something of metaphysical and mystic subtlety enters into the conception of the relation of Christ to the human soul. The conception of the eternal pursuit of the human soul by God's providence:

Sche fleith, I folowe, I sought her so;

surprises us into a sense of modernity. There is another version of this poem from Lambeth MS. ~~XXX~~ 853 in Political, Religious and Love Poems(Furnivall), in which the Virgin Mary is the speaker -



pleads to man pathetically for the good of his soul - it is the cry of the Divine to the human soul;

My love abidith thee; yra is away;
My love thee callith, and thou stelith me fro.

We need not take any notice of those poems which seem to be nothing else than the prayers and confessions of anguished souls, and of which there are too many examples.

We may ^{note} one point here. We have observed that a dramatic form has been given to a good many of the religious lyrics: they are either dramatic monologues or duologues or a miniature drama with action (LXVII - Early English Lyrics). How to explain this phenomenon? A close relation between the lyrics and the rising drama of the day is presumable. If this be admitted, we can infer either of the things - the writers of the plays might be concerned with the composition of these lyrics or the plays themselves which were very popular, and which were meant to be the medium of religious instruction, supplied themes and setting to the singers. There is one fact which makes the question a little complex: Many of the religious lyrics, specially those of the Planctus Mariae and the Hail Mary type are found incorporated in the Corpus ~~Christi~~ Christi plays. If these lyrics had been independently written, then the plays must have been written to accommodate them, or they might have been bodily lifted into the plays whether they harmonised with their setting or not. Any way these lyrics seem to be so ubiquitous, creeping ~~in~~ into the most unexpected places, that we are driven to the conclusion that the play-wrights owe a considerable debt to the lyric writers. This is the theory that Mr. Taylor of the University of Colorado has sought to establish in his article in Modern Philology, Vol. V.

Chamber makes it out that the morality plays of the day supplied the themes as well as the scenes of these lyrics - and they must have come home to the minds of the folk with an added

glory in the songs after they had been familiar with them on the stage. It sounds quite plausible. Now as to the presence of many of the lyrics in the plays we may say that some must have been originally composed for the plays, and are in their proper setting there, and that others might have been taken over from the existing or current body of religious verse since they served the purpose so well in the plays into which they were incorporated.

Turning to the 'moral' section, we may first note three characteristic poems - Nos. XC, XCI, XCIV (Early English Lyrics). The first is concerned with the Ubi Sunt motive, immortalised by Villon in his ~~ballade~~ Balade of the Ladies of the Past Times. We may link it with the still earlier example, the Anglo-Saxon lyric, The Wanderer. In the second of the poems it is curious that a lullaby is adapted to the saddest moralising on life:

With sorow thou com into this world,

With sorow ssalt wend awai.

The meaning of life is sorrow that began with the first man. It is with this fact that the poem starts, and it is on this it ends again. There is displayed a certain amount of passionate energy in giving expression to this melancholy thought. In the third poem the final end of all things - dust and oblivion, is the theme. The recurring phrase - Erthe appon erthe gives a solemn tone and dignity to the poet's reflection.

A lighter vein ~~is struck~~ in the midst of preoccupation with sorrows of life is struck in No. C (Early English Lyrics) - lighter in the sense that the oppressive gloom of constant brooding on the absolute hopelessness of earthly life is a little lifted here.

Evanescence of earthly things or death as the dreaded end is a recurring thought in many poems, and the lesson that is sought

(2) Secular
 to be impressed is the surrender of the soul to Christ; it is curious that even this is a frail refuge - a result of blind groping with the overmastering sense of the dreaded Unknown and little of faith in earthly longings and desires. All these poems reflect the brooding of the monks on the futility of life and also their shrinking from death, which, with all their trust in the remedial and redeeming love of Christ, they were not able to put away from their mind. There are poems, dwelling on deceptiveness of appearance, descanting on the evil wrought by a wicked tongue, warning against self-praise or self-advertisement, etc. No. CXII (Early English Lyrics) is an ingenious application of a hawking affair to a moral lesson. The word - Revertere which occurs as a refrain is the voice of warning:

My faucon flew fast unto her pray;
 My hound gan renne with glad chere;
 And sone I spurned in my way;
 My leg was hent all in a breer.
 The breer forsoothe it did me gref,
 But Iwis it made me to turn aye,
 For he bare writing in every leff,
 This Latin word Revertere.

O death, rock me a sleep which occurs last among the 'moral lyrics' in Early English Lyrics is far from didactic in tone. It is the personal note of grief which makes it melodious. The poem is supposed to have been written by Anne Boleyn in prison shortly before her execution. The love-longing is closely related to the pain of longing and uncertainty of possession.

The love-longing is closely related to the pain of longing and uncertainty of possession. The love-longing is closely related to the pain of longing and uncertainty of possession. The love-longing is closely related to the pain of longing and uncertainty of possession.

There are no doubt (2) Secular

A striking change is reflected in the secular lyrics. We seem to breathe a different atmosphere from the settled gloom of the cloister-life which is so uniformly presented in the religious lyrics. We hear again the far-off echoes of the Carmina Burana. 'Groweth sed and bloweth med' - the same delight again as that of the wandering scholars in the quickening and burgeoning of animal and vegetable life. The full abandon of the human spirit to the influence of spring - the elan is here in these songs. Care and care are far from these singers. Their very gaiety seems to exhale the spirit of spring. So Sumer is icumen is a prelude to the melodies that fill the spacious times of Elizabeth. Chambers notes that it is "perhaps written to be sung to the twinkling feet of the English girls in a round", - which means that it is faintly reminiscent of the disappearing folk-song of the age. It is after all a song of joy - joy of reviving life that is felt in and through all creation. It is purely objective, and in its objectivity it may be compared with the French reverdie.

But in the poem - Bytune Merse and Averil a relation is established between the changes in nature and the human mind. The note of love-longing gives it a human and personal interest. Noteworthy too is the description of the physical charms of the lady in the second stanza - a feature scarcely noticeable in poems written under the cult of the amour courtois. It belongs rather to the tradition of the Carmina Burana. The praises of the sweetheart are delicately combined with the pain of longing and uncertainty of possession.

The love-longing is barely hinted at in Lenten is come with love to toun, another exquisitely melodious poem. It is elaborated in No. VI (Early English Lyrics), which evidently belongs to the courtly tradition.

poems - To My Heart's Joy, To My Body's Joy, Unto My Love, etc.

Flower of Wenden is more clearly illustrative of the

There are no doubt English lyrics in which the courtly sentiments of love seem to have been impregnated, yet at the same time it appears clearly that the conventions as a whole, or even in large part, are not accepted by the English poets. In the first place they have nothing to do with the dubious relationship with a married woman that the code of courtly love recommends - a barren and futile love that exhausts itself, if real, in mere pining, if otherwise, in playing with the sentiment of love. Of course we may find in English lyrics the poetical exaltation of the mistress, the lover's humble supplication, his sighs and tears, etc. We may quote here a few verses which express the typical courtly sentiments :

Thogh I be far out of her sight,

I am her man bothe day and night,

And so wol be.

Therefore wolde as I love her

She loved me. (No.XVIII, Early English Lyrics)

My heart she hath, and ever shall,

Till by death departed we be.

Hap what will hap, fall what shall fall,

Shall no man know her name for me.

(No.XXVI, Early English Lyrics)

This secrecy about the name of the mistress is a part of the convention. Here is the convention about beauty striking through the eyes to the heart :

Her fair eye piercing

My poor heart bleeding,

And I abiding

In hope of meed.

(No.XXXIX, Early English Lyrics)

In Political, Religious and Love Poems (F.J. Furnivall) the three poems - To My Heart's Joy, To My Lady Dear, Unto My Lady, the

Flower of Womanhood are more clearly illustrative of the

courtly sentiments of love. In the ~~the~~ first of the poems the lover swears allegiance to the lady; in the second there are praises of the mistress, supplication of the lover, and profession of his fidelity and devotion - a typical courtly poem; in the third the poet speaks of the image of the lady dwelling in his heart, of his sleeplessness, of contradictions in which love lands him. There is a considerable body of verse, supposed to have been written by Charles, Duke of Orleans, during his imprisonment in England, and edited by G.W. Taylor, (though we are not sure whether these poems were translations from the original French), in which all conventional ideas about courtly love are expressed - exaltation of the mistress, offer of service as a knight, confusion and embarrassment caused by the presence or looks of the mistress, agonies of love, restlessness at night, description of the mistress as the perfect workmanship of nature, and so on.

In this connection we may notice a counter phase of development in English poetry - the rise of the bourgeois spirit. It is the result of the awakening of popular consciousness, and it expresses itself first in political songs, which may be dated even earlier than the reign of King John. But the more important aspect of the bourgeois self-expression is the satires against the evils of the church and against woman. The Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England (W.C. Hazlitt) are an interesting collection, and throw important sidelights on the reactionary force in English poetry. It is clear that the eternal feminine has been forced unduly into notice by the exaggerated idealisms of courtly poetry; when the question was treated in popular poetry, it naturally provoked a reaction. We may compare such a poem as The Cokwold Daunce, ~~xxxix~~ (Early Popular Poetry, Vol. I), a story belonging to the Arthurian cycle and glancing at the amours of Sir Lancelot and Guinevere. Invective against woman is but a negative side of the bourgeois

self-expression. The positive side is shown in inculcating moral and religious lessons: How the Goode Wif Thought hir Doughter (Early Popular Poetry, Vol. I). Sometimes we find a poem in which there are two disputants - one railing against, and the other defending woman, for example, The Thrush and the Nightingale, which is an estриф or débat in form, and which is supposed to be a translation from the French. But perhaps the anti-courtly note is nowhere more clearly pronounced than in The Turnament of Toten - ham (Early Popular Poetry, Vol. III), which burlesques the usages of chivalry. It should be noted too that there are poems in the collection, which hold a sort of balance between courtly and bourgeois exaggerations. We may mention the exquisite poem - The ~~Nut~~ Nut-Brown Maid. It evidently takes its cue from the satirical verse of the time against woman, but the purpose is to make amends. It is a dialogue between a Squire and one Puella. The Squire wants to test her love, and tells her a long ~~yarn~~ yarn about his being outlawed - and so farewell to their ~~love~~ love and all that. But nothing shakes the resolution of Puella. The exquisite grace with which Puella's throbbing, agonising love is painted, is particularly to be noted. The Nut-Brown Maid reflects little of the bourgeois spirit. ~~The~~ A second version of the poem - The New Notbrowne Mayd upon the Passion of Cryste (Early Popular Poetry, Vol. III) shows the bourgeois handling of the theme. Hazlitt writes, "The moralization of the preceding poem will read curiously side by side with the original, to which it is by no means equal in merit or interest. The production consists of a dialogue between Christ and the Virgin Mary, in which the latter intercedes with our Saviour for mankind, and contrives by considerable importunity to win pardon for the world upon its repentance." We are not much concerned with the miscellaneous contents of Early Popular Poetry: there are examples which seem to have been influenced by the French fabliaux, and there are a good many poems of a ballad character a simple story, however rude or elementary, being a constituent of

them, often set off by keen satire and coarse humour. Pure lyrics, short, at unity with thought and expression, are fewer in this collection. Most of the poems have a narrative basis. But metrically they are not without interest. While experiments are still being made in varied stanza-forms and rhyme-schemes, examples are not wanting of shorter and simpler lyric measures, and at the same time a surer command of rhythm and cadence is evident.

We may count the net gains of Early English lyrics on the side of technique and form as the following:

(1) Increased pliancy of language, due to its absorption of Latin and Romance elements, and increased pliancy means increased responsiveness to melody.

(2) Extension of the lyric theme - no longer restricted to the battle cry, laments for the dead or the sorrows of a gleeman. Love as a subject of song marks a notable advance.

(3) Use of rhyme and absolute freedom in verse-structure. Rhyme was introduced from Latin hymns and verse-forms of different kinds from Latin hymns and French poetry.

(4) Pretty common use of the refrain.

We should not forget the dominant influence of music upon these early lyrics. Not a few of them are pure songs (Nos. II., XVIII, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII Early English Lyrics). Several have a refrain and a musical lilt and cadence. Evidently the poets wrote with some familiar tunes running in their heads. Those tunes were lost, but some were rediscovered by the labours of Chappell and lately of Mr. J.H. Gibbon (Melody and the Lyric). There seems to be little doubt also about the association of popular poetry with music.

~~Hazlitt~~ Hazlitt writes thus: "There is no reason to doubt, that many of the moral and romantic compositions which form part of these volumes, were designed for recitation, with an accompaniment on the harp or other instrument; and nothing could have been more

popular than entertainments of this kind were among our ancestors. From the earliest period down to the sixteenth century the class of poems to which Adam Bel, Clym of the Clough and William of Cloudeslie, and The Squire of Low Degre belong, were recited or sung to the harp in the same manner that the lyrical compositions of the later age were arranged for the lute, the bass-viol, etc. It is to be feared that in no instance has the tune or air, to which the pieces contained in this and the following volumes, were adapted, been preserved."

CHAPTER X

CAROLS AND SONGS

The original sense of a carol was a song accompanying a dance. It is an interesting survival, under changed conditions, of the village choral dance, though by a long way off. It is the Christian leavening of a pagan festival (one connected with the celebration of the winter solstice) that led to the origin of the carol. Singing and dancing were a part of the religious worship in the pre-Christian era. The following extract, quoted in Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology shows that something like carolling goes back to the early part of the first century:

"And after supper they celebrate their sacred vigil. And the vigil is conducted on this wise. They all stand up in a crowd, and in the midst of the symposium first of all two choirs are formed, one of men and one of women, and for each, one most honoured and skilled in song is chosen as a leader and director. Then they sing hymns composed to the praise of God, in many metres, and to various melodies, in singing together in unison, and in another with antiphonal harmonies, moving their hands in tune and dancing.....and being transported with divine enthusiasm, they perform one while lyric measures, and at another tragic plain-song, strophes and antistrophes, as need requires."

This is the account of the Therapeutae, an ancient Jewish ascetic order resembling the Christian monks and also the Essenes, given by Philo in De Vita Contemplativa; and thus engaged in their nightly devotion, they are described by Philo as carollers. Now the passage is important in a double sense: (1) that the practice of the Therapeutae might have some influence in making the Christian church more tolerant of dancing and singing that were carried over

from ~~pagan~~ paganism into Christianity; (2) that the manner of carolling, as described by Philo, might explain the conditions which partly determine the metrical features of the typical carol.

The church could not at once ban for its own interest pagan dances and songs. We read in The Mediaeval Stage: "Upon great feasts and wake-days choruses of women invaded with wanton cantica and ballationes the precincts of the churches and even the sacred buildings themselves, a desecration against which generation after generation of ecclesiastical authorities was fain to protest."

The third council of Toledo forbade in 589 dances in churches on the vigils of saints' dances.

In 858 Gautier, Bishop of Orleans, condemned the rustic songs and women dancers in the Presbytery on festival days.

Again as late as 1209 the council of Avignon prohibited theatrical dances and secular songs in churches.

These steps, taken by the church, were far from effective, and at last it had to come to a sort of compromise, and the carols were born evidently of such a compromise.

Chambers' analysis of the metrical structure of the carol is interesting. He writes, "Their form varies considerably, but the commonest type of all, to which almost precisely half the examples in the two earliest manuscripts belong, consists of a triplet upon a single rhyme, followed by a cauda which is linked by a second rhyme to one or more lines of the burden. Exactly the same arrangement is to be found in several twelfth- or thirteenth century French caroles..... It is an intermediate stage between the

elaborated rondel and the simpler scheme of the chanson ~~xxx~~ d'histoire, in which a monorhymed couplet, originally perhaps of a single line, is followed by a refrain upon another rhyme, without any connecting link. It lends itself admirably to the methods of a dance-song shared between a leader and a chorus, since the change of rhyme in the cauda serves literally as a cue to the chorus that it is their turn to break in with the burden."

The carol preserves in its structure an intermediate stage of evolution from the primitive lyric, viz. the emergence of the leader and the apportioning of the performance between the leader and the throng, the latter's part restricted to the chanting of certain stereotyped phrases at regular intervals. It is when the leader separates himself from the throng, and begins, as it were, to sing to himself that we come to the modern lyric. The form of the carol is thus interesting because we see how poetry beginning with the impersonal, communal emotion, progresses towards the personal note of thought.

Then as to the authorship of these carols Chambers sets them down to the vagrant clerks and he gives the following reason: "Thomas Wright, who first edited the Sloane and Bodleian manuscripts, regarded them as the professional repertories of minstrels; and indeed there is a specious air of minstrelsy about their frequent appeals to the 'more and lasse' and the 'lordings' present in hall and bower. But while they contain a small proportion of secular, satirical, and even improper pieces, their general tone is far too uniformly didactic and religious to be at all characteristic of minstrelsy. These qualities and the Latin tags with which they abound suggest that the authors were clerks, although likely enough, clerks of the errant persuasion." We do not deny the influence of the wandering scholars. But

there is no evidence to show that they are the writers of the carols. Their influence upon the literature of the period, as we have tried to show, has been too diffusive and ubiquitous.

Wright, while considering the carols as the ~~repert~~ repertoires of the minstrels, nowhere asserts that all the carols were actually made by them. Not that, as Wright admits, they were without the gift of composition - they showed it frequently in their rehandling of these carols and songs, in their adapting of them to their special purposes, in their adding or omitting of particular stanzas and sometimes in their bodily lifting into their compositions lines and phrases of different songs. It is also true that the carols at first circulated orally until they were written down - a fact which is supported by the inaccuracies of the script and variations in the text of the same song. We might easily believe that when the minstrels were degraded from the rank of ~~courtly singers~~ court-singers, they might look about to please the popular tastes. And the carols were essentially meant for popular consumption - hence the variety of interests catered for in them, the simple and ardent piety, chiefly centring round the Virgin Mary, the festive note, proverbial wisdom and ~~sometimes~~ even the occasional gibe at marriage, love and women.

Who then were the writers of these carols - some of them, as we shall see, being the product of a consummate literary art? We do not know, and perhaps we are not likely to know as we do not know anything about the authorship of the best of the pieces in the Middle English lyric. An association of them with the churchmen is presumable, if we remember the activity of the Franciscan monk, James Ryman, in making a vast collection of carols. Mr. Gibbon in his Melody and the Lyric stresses the connection of the Franciscans with the carols, and points out that the carol, "I saw a sweet, seely sight," to which he appends the tune, was written by a Franciscan friar of Norwich, John Brackley by name (page 12). And then he has an interesting remark: "The Gospel according to St. Francis of Assisi was

a gospel of happiness. He had learnt the gay songs of the jongleurs from his mother, who was a native of Provence, and, both before and after his renunciation of the world, was for ever singing. He would have his followers called "joculatores Dei," or "minstrels of the Lord," the "merry singers, ~~heaven's~~ heaven's minstrels of Piers Plowman, for his gospel was a gospel of song. St. Francis also made popular the old custom of celebrating Christmas in church with the visible manger. St. Bonaventura, his biographer, says that "he prepared a manger and brought hay, an ox and an ass to the place appointed. The brethren were summoned, the people ran together, the forest resounded with their voices, and that august night was made radiant and solemn with many bright lights, and with tuneful and sonorous psalms."

The extract above may be read as a good commentary on many a Nativity carol with the joyous tone, identical situation and even the visual presentation of the manger. Yet Mr. Gibbon is careful to say, "It would be wrong, however, to ascribe all these early carols to the friars."

We may carry the matter a little farther back, and consider in what relation the carol stands to ~~the hymn~~ a hymn. According to the definition of a hymn, given by St. Augustine, it should be a direct address of prayer or praise to God ("If you praise God and do not sing, you utter no hymn. If you sing, and praise not God, you utter no hymn.") But when the hymn, instead of directly praising God, refers to His miraculous works or providential interposition on behalf of His people, it partakes of the ~~character~~ ~~of a carol~~ nature of a carol. The Gloria in Excelsis is, for example, called by Bishop Taylor a carol in his Life of Christ. Some of the sequences of ~~the~~ the later age may very well come under the category of carol.

A prima facie connection of the churchmen with the carols can be established. Now if the churchmen, as they were so much interested in their preservation, and perhaps in their circulation were the writers of the carols, we must have to suppose some of them to be of extraordinary poetic gift ~~and~~ and - which is more

more important, a liberal outlook and intuitive sympathy to be able to enter into the joys and sorrows, hopes and fears of the common people and to portray them sometimes with a tender wistfulness as we find in the carols.

After all we shall have to leave the authorship of the carols an open question. From their early history it is evident that the church had something to do with them, from which we cannot necessarily infer the connection of the vagrant clerks with them. One very significant fact is the production of the carols in greater abundance, particularly in vernaculars, as the use of ancient languages came to be discontinued. We cannot certainly say that they served essentially the same purpose as the hymns in earlier times. All that we see is that they are sprung of the common people, that they are penetrated with the warmth of their homely and simple thoughts and sentiments. And probably we may infer that if they were not meant to take the place of hymns, they would reach down to the unlettered mass, as they were meant to do, and bring home to them the essentials of religion in a palatable form.

What do these carols then express? - the popular mind at its best, in its gaiety and innocence, in its natural turn of piety, in its gracious acceptance of the realities of life. If a good many of them are religious, they have very little to do with the gloom and preoccupation with the sorrows of life and death as reflected in the religious lyrics we have considered above. When they sing the praises of Christ and Mary, they speak the natural language of the human heart. It is the most direct relation between human and divine, that is expressed in the carols.

The customary division of the carols into religious and secular is not often very useful - the two elements mingling so inseparably in a carol. First as to the structure of a carol, the commonest form is a mono-rhymed tercet with a refrain. Quatrains with alternating rhymes are also found. Some of the carols, especially of a narrative character, are written in ballad metre. And even a few are in long, elaborate French metres, but they are

farthest from the real tone and character of a carol.

We should first note a few examples, evidently influenced by Latin:

No. ~~XIII~~ (Songs and Carols of the Fifteenth century -Wright)

Alleluia, alleluia, de Virgine Maria

Saluator mundi, Domine,

Fader of hevyn, blessyd thou be,

And the son that cometh of the,

De Virgine Marai

in which the Latin lines enter into the stanza and form also the refrain.

A few of the carols follow the trochaic dimeter of the Latin hymn, though the rhythm may vary in certain lines. Here is an example:

No. LIX (Songs and Carols of the Fifteenth Century)

Off the 5 joys of our lady

A, a, a, a, gaude celi domina

Mary, for the love of the,

Glad and mery schal we be;

Who schal syng unto the,

Tua quinque gaudia.

The Stabat Mater motive is used in the following carol No. XLV

(Songs and Carols from a MS. in the British Museum of the Fifteenth century - Wright)

Nowel, el el el el, etc.

Mary moder, ~~emmx~~ cum and se,

Thi sone is naylyd on a tre

No. LVII (Songs and Carols from a MS. in the British Museum of the fifteenth century) is in quatrain with alternating rhymes :

Nowel, el, el, el,

Now is wel that evere was woo

A babe is born al of a may

In the savasyoun of us,

To hom we syngen both nygt and day,

Veni creator spiritus.

As to other varieties of carol we may note the following:

A Carol of the Birthe of Christ(MS. Cott. Vesp.A.XXV.fol.160)
beginning - 'The golden tyme ys nowe at hande

The day of joye from heaven doth springe,'

is constructed on a scheme of elaborate and varied rhymes; the first stanza rhymes ababccb, but the third stanza rhymes aabccbddeeffgg.

There are several carols with a ballad-like opening:

A Christmas Carol(from a MS. in the Cambridge Public Library of the fifteenth century, printed in Reliquiae Antiquiae):

Lystenyt, lordynges, more and lees,

I bring you tydynd of gladness,

As Gabriel beryt wytnes.

There are carols again, opening with the conventional phrase - 'This endris night,' a variation of the Pastourelle motive.

One of them, No.X(Songs and Carols from a MS. of the fifteenth century) -

Thys endris nyght

I saw a syght,

A stare as bright as day

is of unique interest. It is a combination of the Nativity and lullaby motive. But what a simple and tender pathos hangs upon the dialogue between Jesus and Mary and how the rhythmic ebb and flow of emotion corresponds to the change of the rhyme-scheme often from stanza to stanza! We can easily understand the popularity of the poem from the different versions of the same subject not as good as this one(for example, Nos. LXIII and LXXXVII, Early English Lyrics). We have another version of this very poem under the title -

A Christmas Carol(from a MS. Vol.fol. 219b. lettered on the back "Metrical Romances and Moralizations," 4th, written about the end of the 14th century and preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh).

In some of the carols we touch on the border-line between

the dramatic and lyric art. No. LXVII (Early English Lyrics) is a good example in which the character of Wat is introduced and the theme of Annunciation is dramatically developed. The opening line of each stanza indicates the progress of the action and the climax ~~is~~ is reached in the eighth stanza. It is almost a drama in miniature. From such an example we can easily imagine a close contact between the carols and the miracle plays of the day. In the extract quoted from Mr. Gibbon about St. Francis we note how a spectacular appeal, eked out by a sort of crude realism, played an important part in the services of the church. We may suppose the carols to have been directly influenced by such services and the miracle plays which depended so much on the apparatus of realism; hence we find in so many of the carols, even apart from those connected with Nativity or Passion, visual imagery, dialogue and humour of a realistic character and even ~~irramatic~~ a simple dramatic setting.

Here we may note too that the convivial group of ~~carol~~ carols begins with the shepherd carols as one we have discussed above, and passes on to songs connected with the bringing in of the boar's head and to pure drinking songs. We need not discuss them in detail; it will be enough to say that the thinly disguised pagan character of the rejoicing is discernible in these carols, especially the ~~Yule-tide~~ Yule-tide carols, reflecting as they do the spirit of good fellowship, a sense of hearty enjoyment, the revel-rout of men and women. In this connection Wright's note on Yule-tide is interesting: "The Anglo-Saxon Gule or Yule was an ancient Pagan festival, from which we derive the feasting and merriment still observed at the same season of the year. When the Anglo-Saxons were converted, the feasting and other observations were turned to another purpose, and were made to be considered a memorial of the nativity of our Saviour, the commemoration of which happened at the same time. The name of Yule still remained and in some parts of our island has been preserved to the present day; but after the entry of the Normans, a foreign appellation was introduced, - Noel, derived from the Latin natalis (the dies

natalis of our Lord), which soon became naturalised in our language and literatur. Our carols illustrate the festive character, as well as the pious feelings, appropriate to the ~~season~~ season."

There are one or two carols which stand apart. For sheer verbal melody nothing in the Middle English lyric is comparable to 'I sing of a maiden.' What is the secret of its charm? Perhaps it lies in the skilled use of alliteration and echo, in gradation of vowels and related sounds. The change ~~in~~ in meaning is made to synchronise with the change in sound. Its vowel music sometimes depends on echo and sometimes on melodious sequence. The device of incremental repetition:

As dew in Aprille

That falleth on the grass.

As dew in Aprille

That falleth on the flour.

As dew in Aprille

That falleth on the spray.

comes from folk-poetry. While standing close in a sense to folk-poetry, it has all the characteristics of ~~the art-form of lyric~~ a poem of art.

~~Here~~ Then the carol - 'Adam lay ibounden,' No. L (Early English Lyrics) is noteworthy too. The very dance rhythm is articulate in it. Perhaps poems of this kind are particularly interesting because they illustrate the process of transition from folk-poetry to art-lyric. And so while they preserve the impulsive note, they as yet betray ~~very~~ little self-consciousness of art. Can we trace any influence of folk poetry in the carols? G. Gregory Smith (The Transition Period pp. 188-189) writes, "There can be no question of the literary character of the popular songs and carols. The lyrical qualities of the themes and the formal variety imply individual authorship, though the record of that authorship has not survived. ~~Prima facie~~ Prima facie it would appear less absurd to search for a folk-strain in these pieces, ~~than~~ which are the

simple expression of things eternally human, than in the more elaborate and more 'occasional' ballads." It is difficult to get a pure folk-song, but some of the folk-song elements, e.g. repetition, interjection, refrain have been carried over into the carols. There is not perhaps a single carol without a refrain; ~~some~~ then some of the refrains are mere cries (~~No. XXII. Songs~~ and No. XXII., No. XXXVIII (Songs and Carols from a MS. of the fifteenth century), which might have been once the sole words of a chorus in the distant past. It may be also noted that the refrain has ~~some~~ often no relation to the text of the carol. If the refrains have not been taken over exactly in their original form, their source, we can easily believe, is still the folk-poetry

There is another direction in which folk-poetry might have influenced the carols, viz. the note of simplicity and directness in expression, or as Otto Heider (Untersuchungen zur Mittelenglischen Erotischen Lyrik) puts it, "the universal, human and natural for the conventional and abstract ~~of~~ expression of feeling; the perceptual image for the abstract thought - in general, vivacity and freshness of expression." Ernest Rhys points out that the nearest approach to a folk-song is "is in ~~ditties~~ old ditties like the earliest setting of the Holly and Ivy Carol. In this song of Holver and Hewy, the burden is, "In londes where they go," and the last stave rather suggests, despite the gender, a woman's fancy -

"Then spak Holver and set him downe on his knee
I pray thee, jentil Hewy,
Sey me no veleny,
In londes where we go!"

How old this really may be, none of us can tell. In the Harleian version, which has a refrain, "Nay, my nay, hyt shall not be, I wys," the third stanza has the line -

"Ivy and hur maydyns, they wepyn and they wryng,"
which again points to the woman's side." Whether the carol referred to above comes close to a folk-song or not, it is certainly based upon a folk custom.

There are two carols connected with the "Rose" motive - one with the beautiful refrain - faintly captured by the ear as they are read also. Of a rose, a lovely rose, sugar, freer and gayer life that is. Of a rose is al myn song. ^{Early English} One critic writes, "The "Rose" motive is almost as ancient as love-song itself." The "Rose" has a long tradition behind it in poetry. There are often exquisite references to it in the Carmina Burana. Christian mysticism took it up and discovered a new meaning in it, and "hymnody painted new roses for its Mary-worship, but even here we can often trace easily the "pagan" original, or find at least that the mediaeval symbol has been anticipated by a writer like Prudentius." carols.

We may mention one or two examples of satirical carols. They are not an important group; nor have they the typical carol note. They are generally echoes of the bourgeois satirical songs of the day, which we have discussed in a previous chapter. No. IV (Songs and Carols printed from a MS of the fifteenth century) -

Herfor, and therfor, and therfor I come

And for to preyse this prety woman

is a typical example, but it is not in the true carol manner. No. XLVII (Songs and Carols printed from a MS. of the fifteenth century) - 'This endrys day,' describes a strife between an old man and his wife.

Though we have directed our attention to a few examples of special interest, the carols range through every possible variety of themes - from the simple motive of adoration addressed to Mary and Christ, through the old moral and serious themes, such as the dissolution of the body, the dread of the Doomsday and ~~the~~ even the commonplace maxims of practical wisdom, with the new complement of satires against women and marriage, and then the songs of festivity, drinking songs down to the blatant and coarse Pedlar's song. The one notable omission is the love-theme. All the carols are not of equal merit; the best of them only seem to attain an undefinable charm of utterance. "Inevitable"

is the epithet that suggests itself in connection with them. With the background of the dance tune faintly captured by the ear as they are read aloud, and the vision of a larger, freer and gayer life that is called up, they have a strange and irresistible appeal to the heart. The ^{Early English} carol touches all that is primary and elemental in human nature - we do not mean the craving of the human heart to be closer to the Divine; apart from it, the need of joy in life, perhaps the most primary and elemental of needs, be it noted that it is not the sensuous joyousness which the Greek prized and which reappears with the Renaissance, but a calmer and serener joy, a joy in tune with the higher interests of man, that is the articulate note in the best of the carols.

logy. But as in Northern France the influence of Troubadour poetry, of the decaying art, but is the with new stanza-forms.

The new Italian lyric, Troubadour poetry, was different when it fully emerged. We have seen the Italian poets could not see the bourgeois achievements, which, conscious, was the wedding of and spiritual issues of life infusion of a satirical spirit the Italian poets brought and rescued it from the side of seriousness, and reverence (unlike the was again from the that they seized upon in the hands of the bourgeois starting-point.

CHAPTER XI

INFLUENCE OF ITALIAN POETRY AND MUSIC

We have shown in a previous chapter how the bourgeois spirit captured courtly poetry and partly transformed its character. The persecution of the Albigenses in the South in the thirteenth century led to the dispersal of the troubadours in foreign lands, such as Spain and Italy. In Italy a quickening impulse seems to have been imparted to poetry by the troubadours who settled there. The Italian poets, when they first felt the influence of Troubadour poetry, composed both in the Provençal and their native tongue. The first output of verse was consequently a mere repetition of the old formulas, conventions and phraseology. But as in Northern France so in Italy the dominant influence of Troubadour poetry resulted, not in mere imitation of the decaying art, but in the creation of original poetry with new stanza-forms.

The new Italian lyric, though owing much at first to Troubadour poetry, was different from it in tone and spirit when it fully emerged. We have noted in a previous chapter that the Italian poets could not certainly reckon without the bourgeois achievement, which, partly conscious and partly unconscious, was the wedding of the courtly muse to the moral and spiritual issues of life - sometimes not without the infusion of a satirical spirit. We have pointed out too that the Italian poets brought back the lyric to the theme of love and rescued it from the satirical taint - rather erring on the side of seriousness; and yet while they treated love with reverence (unlike the bourgeois poets and though in a different way again from the troubadours), it should be borne in mind that they seized upon the latest development of courtly lyric in the hands of the bourgeois poets, and made it their starting-point.

Hence the result was a widening gulf between Troubadour lyric and the new Italian lyric, for in the latter the earthly passion of love which the troubadour celebrated was sublimated and etherealised into a mere passive spiritual longing.

There was another reason why Troubadour poetry, if transplanted to Italy in its original character, would have^{been} an exotic only. Troubadour poetry had its genesis in chivalry; now chivalry never took firm root in Italy. However distracted by political dissensions and weakened by years of despotism, there was in Italy again a large measure of individual freedom, which might have silently and steadily fostered creative energy. To add to this, the dawn of the Renaissance in Italy quickened the new movement in poetry. It is not until we come to the poetry of Petrarch that we understand the full significance of the Renaissance. Dante is the precursor of the Renaissance in a limited sense. That he wrote his great poem, not in Latin, but in the Tuscan tongue, is a new departure; then again his realistic descriptions of the tortures of hell and of his course of travels through all the realms of the spirit-world, his self-consciousness as a poet, his personal longing for immortal fame - these are certainly anticipatory of the Renaissance. Perhaps nowhere is better expressed his individualism - and that is again a Renaissance note - than in his Vita Nuova.

We shall first note some of the verse-forms which individualise and distinctly separate the new Italian lyric from Troubadour poetry. The chief authority here is Dante's De Vulgari Eloquentia. Dante recognises three forms of lyrical stanza: (1) Canzone, (2) Ballata, (3) Sonnet. The most typical form is the canzone.

According as the stanzas of which a canzone is composed are divisible or indivisible, it may be of two kinds. The commoner type has divisible stanzas with a repetition of certain rhymes. The dividing point is technically known as diesis or dieresis. If the repetition occurs before the dividing point, the parts, commonly two, though there may be three, are called pedes, and the rest of the stanza is called cauda or syrma. If the repetition occurs after the dividing point, the first part of the stanza is called frons, and the last two parts, linked together by the same rhyme-scheme, are called versus. The metre is hendecasyllabic. As Ker points out, particularly the odes in the Elizabethan times owe much more to the ode canzone than to Pindar's model. Lycidas as well as Spenser's Prothalamion and Epithalamion belong to the order of the ode canzone. the sonnet is broken up into a third quatrain and a

Ker writes thus, ".....there is none of greater dignity and at the same time more widely spread, more generally understood than this measure of the Italian canzone. A bodiless thing; in itself you would say as abstract as a geometrical diagram and of not much worth for poetry. Yet read the great lyrical poems of Spenser and Milton, read the Ode to a Nightingale, The Scholar Gipsy, Thyrsis, and you will hear how the abstract harmony takes possession of the minds of the poets, and compels their ~~thoughts~~ thought and imagination to move in the same measure! Even though the tripartite division of the canzone is a recognised feature, it admits considerable freedom as to the length and number of lines and order of rhymes; hence we can trace the evolution of the ode-forms of verse in the Elizabethan lyric to it.

Next in importance is the sonnet. It might have evolved out of the canzone-strophe, whose threefold character it preserves. According to Biadene's study in the Morfologia del Sonetto the sonnet originally consisted of eight lines divided

into four ~~lines~~ couplets, and six lines divided into tercets, though later the first eight lines were regarded as being divided, not into four couplets, but into two quatrains. The earliest rhyme-arrangement was ab ab ab ab: cd cd cd. In other words, the sonnet was a combination of a strambotto of eight lines with one of six - the strambotto being a Sicilian term for a stanza, usually of eight, sometimes of six, lines, containing two rhymes and rhyming alternately.

Tomlinson(The Sonnet: Its Origin, Structure and Place in Poetry) has tabulated three chief forms of Petrarch's sonnet as the following:

abba abba cde cde; abba abba cde ~~dcd~~; abba abba cde dce.

Wyatt and Surrey departed considerably from the strict Italian form. While the two quatrains are retained, the second chief part of the sonnet is broken up into a third quatrain and a rhyming couplet. The final rhyming couplet, which becomes the chief characteristic of the specifically English form of sonnet is regarded by the Italian critics as the worst offence in a sonnet, though the rhyming couplet is found in six of Dante's and in several of Petrarch's sonnets. Sir Philip Sidney on the whole followed the Italian model rather closely, avoiding the rhyming couplet.

The ballata is a song accompanied by dancing. The refrain with which it begins (and which is repeated at the close of each stanza, or at least at the end of the entire poem) is followed by two pedes; these in turn are followed by a volta, which is of the same metrical form as the refrain, and partly, if not wholly, rhymes with it. There are different kinds of ballata, distinguished by the varying number of lines, contained in the refrain.

We may note another form, Sestina. Arnaut Daniel, the inventor of the sestina, is introduced by Dante in his Purgatoria, where Guido Guinicelli speaks of him in terms of

highest praise, calling him a 'great smith' of his mother tongue, unsurpassed in love-song or romance. The sestina is founded on the principle of what the French call bouts-rimes - the poet selecting his rhymes in the first stanza, which he has to repeat in all the subsequent stanzas according to a certain scheme. There are six lines to a stanza and six stanzas to a poem, not counting the tornado or envoi of three lines, in which all the six verse-ends of the preceding stanzas occur again. If in the first stanza we have these rhymes: a b c d e f, in the second stanza they will be rearranged as b d f e c a, and so on. Sir Philip Sidney was the first to introduce it into English. He wrote also what he calls a dizain, applying the principle of the sestina to stanzas of ten instead of six lines. Drummond of Hawthornden was another writer of sestinas.

Now turning to the content of the new lyric we may note that its chief theme is love. Guittone of Arezzo may be regarded as the herald of the new conception of love. He began by writing the worldly troubadour songs, and then gravitated more and more towards the monastic conception of the sinfulness of fleshly love. Dante pays him a tribute:

"O brother, now I see," he said, "the knot

Which me, the Notary and Guittone held

Short of the sweet new style that now I hear.

But the real inventor of the "sweet new style" is Guido Guinicelli of Bologna. Dante addresses him thus:

"the father

Of me and of my betters, who had ever

Practised the sweet and gracious rhymes of love."

And the embodiment of the new ideal is the ode by Guido Guinicelli - Al cor gentil ripare sempre amore.

Now let us examine what this new ideal of love is:

The Italian poets from the beginning realised a conflict between the fleshly craving of the heart (which the troubadours expressed through the mist of highly artificial and even neutral language) and their spiritual aspiration (which might have been an essentially bourgeois conception as we have tried to show in a previous chapter). The problem before them was, therefore, to arrive at a compromise. Guittone broke away from the troubadour ideal in his later life, and sought refuge in love of God and the Blessed Virgin. ~~As we have noted, this was clearly~~

Guido Guinicelli attempts bridging up the two conceptions of love. He does not reject the fleshly love of the troubadour, but he reads into it a new meaning. He defines love as the portion and inheritance of the gentle heart. Real love can dwell only in a pure and guileless heart. We quote below the lines in which he tries to analyse love more clearly:

My lady, God shall ask, "What dared'st thou?

(When my soul stands with all her acts reviewed;)

"Thou passed'st Heaven, into my sight, as now,

To make Me of vain love similitude.

To me doth praise belong,

And to the Queen of all the realm of grace

Who endeth fraud and wrong."

Then may I plead: "As though from Thee he came,

Love wore an angel's face:

Lord, if I loved her, count it not my shame."

It is fleshly love still - love for a woman, but it is not the end and consummation - it points to something higher and better. It glimpses the light of the other world. Through the

it has the same name and character and desire as sensual flesh the poet passes into the spirit and love is all spirit. passion, though its object is quite different. The aim of Woman is but a ladder to this beatific vision of love in love is union with the thing beloved, but whereas sensual which the eternal conflict between flesh and spirit is ~~not~~ no passion desires only sensual union, love in the proper sense desires spiritual union. St. Denis (Quintus, III, 23): "Love, truly taken and subtly considered, is nothing else than a spiritual union of the soul with the loved thing." The

Dante also alludes to Guido Cavalcanti, linked with Guido Guinicelli in his Commedia :

So has one Guido from the other taken
The glory of our tongue, and he perchance
Is born, who from the nest shall chase both.
His celebrated ode - Donna mi prega perch' io voglio dire, attempts a subtler analysis of the new conception of love. I am much indebted to an article of Mr. Jefferson B. Fletcher (Columbia University) for the interpretation of the ode. We quote only the second stanza of the ode:

In that part where the memory resides
It makes appearance, as transparence shows
Through which light flows, so love its form acquires
From shadow cast by Mars, the which abides.
Created hence; nature of sense bestows
Its name and pose of soul, and heart's desire.
It comes from visible form, which, apprehended,
Ascends into passive intellect,
There, as effect, maintains tenancy.
Never it works in that part injury.
And since from finite kind 'tis not descended,
Unended is its radiant effect.
Nor wears aspect of joy but reverie,
For may not enter there affinity.

Love is said to be excited by an outside force, ~~symbolically~~ in colour and form, in sensuous imagery, in vivid tropes and symbolically by the influence of the planet Mars. It has its seat in the sensitive soul or imagination, where, according to Aristotle, the image of the loved one is preserved and so it is all so impalpable and elusive.

it has the same name and character and desire as sensual passion, though its object is quite different. The aim of love is union with the thing beloved; but whereas sensual passion desires only physical union, love in the proper sense desires spiritual union. So Dante (Convito, III.2): "Love, truly taken and subtly considered, is nought else than a spiritual union of the soul and of the loved thing." The "visible form" is the pure form or idea abstracted from the material thing; it is taken up into the passive intellect, or intellective memory, where it remains as a dominant ideal. The action of this amorous ideal is not directly mental, i.e. ratiocinative or discursive, but obsessive of the attention and will: to speak modernly, it becomes a "fixed idea." Now love being of a pure form or idea, which as infinite cannot be completely possessed by a finite being, is never inactive through satiety. Love cannot, therefore, enjoy its ideal in the sense of fruition; its mood is an entranced contemplation of that ideal, a ravishment away from the self toward it.

"The chastity of the Tuscan muse," as Snell rightly remarks, "is as the chastity of marble." This idealisation and etherealisation of love makes it a mere abstraction, and one might very well ask: Is the object of the poet's adoration real and human? When we turn to Dante, we are in doubt whether we should ^{regard} Beatrice as a being of flesh and blood or a mere impersonation of an abstract ideal. The exact nature of the relation between the two is not interpretable in terms of human experience. Many of the personal details in the Vita Nuova may be pieced together into a fairly consistent biography; still the chanting of love, even though clothed in colour and form, in sensuous imagery, in vivid tropes and figures, seems after all a blank negation. He has no doubt recorded in the Vita Nuova his poignant personal experience, and even though its throbbing intensity is sometimes felt, it is all so impalpable and elusive.

Platonism

In a different strain does Petrarch sing of his Laura. In the new cult of love grew considerable nourishment from Dante the desire of the flesh is burnt away in the fervour of Platonism. The dominant influence of Aristotle in the Middle Ages is recognised as the basis of scholasticism. It begins between flesh and spirit appears again. He wins, however, a very dubious triumph over the flesh: failing fruition the Renaissance. In the Florentine Academy Plato received his fleshly craving abides with him a vain, unsatisfied longing.

We may ask what the distinct contribution of Petrarch is to poetry. To use De Vigny's phrase, it is the "romance of the teachings of Plato were welded on to medieval thought analysis," that first enters into poetry with Petrarch. And it meant at once that the ~~communal~~ communal character of poetry in the Middle Ages, barring of course the lyric cry of a Villon nor a Thomas de Hales now and then, was coming to an end. As we know, Petrarch's sonnets are based on the slenderest foundation of actual occurrences - a chance meeting with Laura in the convent church of St. Claire at Avignon, on the 6th of April, 1327. And the Bishop of Lombes might very well exclaim in impatience: "Your Laura is a phantom created by your imagination for the exercise of your poetry. Your verse, your love, your sighs are all a fiction; or if there is anything real in your passion, it is not for the lady Laura, but for the laural, that is, the crown of poets." But after all what a superstructure of human psychology does Petrarch build upon this slenderest foundation! Not only his sentimental analysis, but his exquisite feeling for form, his sensitive-ness to beauty, his decorative use of classical mythology form his permanent contributions to the lyric.

a true appreciation of beauty was the least disputable of virtues, went near shattering the dominant medieval conceptions of the world and humanity. The doctrine which found exponents through the length and breadth of Italy soon had its apostle in the papal curia itself. Cardinal Bembo summed up the new gospel by declaring that only when one said of the world that it is 'beautiful' did one serve the cause of truth.

Platonism

'Beautiful' was, the cardinal argument, the only epithet which accurately described the heaven, or the earth, the sea or the rivers, trees, gardens or cities."

The new cult of love drew considerable nourishment from Platonism. The dominant influence of Aristotle in the Middle Ages is recognised as the basis of scholasticism. It begins to give way to the study and appreciation of Plato at the Renaissance. In the Florentine Academy Plato received his first enthusiastic attention. It was hardly realised what a revolution in thought was being slowly wrought. For a while the teachings of Plato were welded on to mediaeval thought without any appearance of much incongruity. At any rate the Florentine Academicians attempted a reconciliation between Platonism and scholasticism, which seems to have been facilitated in a way by Plato's use of abstraction and allegory. But finally a more radiant and satisfying conception of life and the world, based upon the perception of beauty as the ultimate meaning of creation, gained way. It meant a serious challenge to the old ideals of asceticism. It was not that physical beauty began to be admired for its own sake, but that the poet and the thinker began to look through and beyond it to a higher beauty which resides not in colour and form, but in the unity of vision which links good and truth with beauty.

So one critic writes, "It was the idealization and worship of beauty that lit, in the groves of the Florentine Academy, the flame which at length dispelled the mediaeval vapour. The identification by the thinkers - first of Florence, then of other Italian cities, and afterwards of all the Western continent - of the highest good with beauty, the assumption that a true appreciation of beauty was the least disputable of virtues, went near shattering the dominant mediaeval conceptions of the world and humanity. The doctrine which found exponents through the length and breadth of Italy soon had its apostle in the papal curia ~~itself~~ itself. Cardinal Bembo summed up the new gospel by declaring that only when one said of the world that it is 'beautiful' did one serve the cause of truth.

Of the heavenly riches, which she robed earthly.
 'Beautiful' was, the cardinal argued, the only epithet which accurately described the heaven, or the earth, the sea or the rivers, trees, gardens or cities."

It was, however, through Ficino's interpretation of Plato that the new gospel spread. Ficino's commentary on Plato - Commentarium in Convivium became, so to speak, a text-book for the poet and thinker of the age. Much of the Platonism that he expounds, penetrates the poetry and speculation, not only of his own country, but of France and England too. Spenser is the best exponent, in English poetry, of Platonism as taught by Ficino. We may compare his Hymne in Honour of Love and Hymne in Honour of Beautie. Love, the basic principle of the universe, beauty, the indwelling and quickening spirit in matter, the soul, the creative energy shaping the body in which it is to dwell, and informing it with its own beauty - these ideas are set forth in the two hymns. He addresses Love as:

Great god of might, that reignest in the mynd,
 And all the body to thy hest doest frame.

He describes the action of Beauty thus:

For through infusion of celestaill powre,
 The duller earth it quickeneth with delight
 And life-full spirits privily doth powre
 Through all the ~~xxx~~ parts, that to the looker's sight
 They seem to please.

The Soul too infuses into the body the beauty it inherits from heaven:

Which powre retayning still or more or lesse,
 When she in fleshly seede is eft enraced,
 Through every part she doth the same impresse,
 According as the heavens have her graced,
 And frames her house, in which she will be placed,
 Fit for her selfe, adorning it with spoyle

Of th' heavenly riches, which she robed erewhyle.

Il Cortegiano

Besides Ficino's commentary on Plato, another publication which exercised equally great influence is Baldassare Castiglione's Il Cortegiano (1528). It portrays the scholar and gentleman as fashioned by the new ideals, against the background of Platonic interpretation of ~~life~~ and of the world, concluding with a rapturous oration assigned to Cardinal Bembo on the new conception of beauty and love. It sets forth the rules of the art of love, defining and determining the relation between the sexes, and as such it seems to supersede the earlier treatise of Andre Le Chapelain, De Arte Honesti Amandi. Castiglioni seeks to preserve an image, if no more than an image, of the pomp and pageantry of decaying chivalry by insisting on athletic training, which includes even the old sport of tilting as a necessary accomplishment for a courtier. The new spirit shows ~~itself~~ itself in that a liberal culture is grafted on mere martial discipline. This culture is not merely literary, but aesthetic and social, including knowledge of the theory of music, skill in playing on the lute and in painting. Mr. J. M. Gibbon writes, "Queen Elizabeth herself studied Italian, taking as her textbook Castiglioni's Il Cortegiano, which in Sir Thomas Hoby's translation The Courtier, governed English etiquette for sixty years."

Perhaps among English poets Sir Philip Sidney answers best to Castiglioni's ideal. The critics who have been landed on a vexed controversy as to the exact nature of the relation between Astrophel and Stella - one group ~~inclining~~ inclining to interpret it as illicit love, veiled under pious similitude of phraseology and sentiment, and the other, as a mere poetical convention.

.....I believe that, although sensual love in every convention with no basis of personal feeling in it, do forget the dominant influences of Platonism and the idealism of Il Cortegiano Cortegiano, entering into the structure of thought in Sidney's sonnets. Spenser's elegy on Sidney, published in 1595, and dedicated to the widow of Sidney and the then wife of Essex, furnishes a clue to the problem. Spenser does not hint at marital infidelity, but admits that Astrophel loved Stella.

Now let us examine what kind of love it is. We have seen that Platonism has been reduced to a scientific gospel in the Florentine academy; it is reduced to a social gospel in the Cortegiano of Castiglioni. The duty of the lover, as Castiglioni points out, is service and honour - prouesse and courtoisie adapted to the new social environment; and the reward of the right lover is intellectual communion with his lady by conversation (entretiens du coeur) and supreme spiritual communion in the kiss, the Platonic sacrament; for the kiss, Castiglioni says, "is rather union of soul than of body, since it has power to draw the soul to itself, and separate it from the body."

Astrophel's love can be satisfactorily explained in the light of this doctrine. Spenser's reference to "beames" "shot" from "fairest star in skie," suggests the sublimation of love; then he makes a point of Sidney's "service" with "honour" almost in identical phrases which he uses in his Hymne in Honour of Love. It is, after all, a union of spirit, which, according to the theory of Platonic love, is incompatible with the grosser union of matrimony. So there was no valid reason for Lady Sidney to be jealous of Stella, or for Lord Rich to be jealous of Astrophel, though Sidney once or twice implies that he was (Sonnets, XXIV, XXXVII, XXXVIII).

Castiglioni's comment on love which we reproduce below will help to interpret the main trend of thought in Sidney's sonnets:

".....I believe that, although sensual love in every age of life is an evil(malo), yet in youths it is excusable, and even in some degree permissible(licito); for though it entails sufferings, perils, fatigues, and many unhappinesses, still there are many who ^{to} win ^{the} favour of loved ladies, do excellent deeds, which although not directed to a good end, are yet in themselves good, and so from much bitterness extract a little sweetness, and through the adversities they endure recognise at last their error.....I pardon them their base love provided that in it they show gentleness (gentilezza), courtesy and valour.....and when they are no longer of youthful age, they wholly abandon ~~it~~, leaving the sensual desire, as the lowest rung of the ladder by which ^{man} climbs unto true love."

The baser love which Castiglioni describes here tries to gain the upper hand in Sidney again and again(Sonnets, X, XVIII,XXV,LII). He wrestles long and hard with it, and at last is able to conquer it(LXXII):

Virtue's gold now, must head Cupid's dart.

Service and Honour, Wonder with Delight,
Fear to offend, Will worthy to appear

Care shining in mine eyes, Faith in my spirit

These things are left me by my only dear.

Perhaps ~~now~~ there are better expressed the balance and harmony of contending impulses in him, the final note of reconciliation with self and higher duty than in the following sonnet in Arcadia:

Leave me, O Love, which reachest but to dust,

And thou, my mind, aspire to higher things;

~~For~~ Grow rich in that which never taketh rust:

Whatever fades, but fading pleasure brings.

Draw in thy beams, and humble all ~~thy~~ thy might

To that sweet yoke where lasting freedoms be,

Which breaks the clouds and opens forth the light

That doth both shine and give us sight to see.

Oh, take fast hold! Let that light be thy guide

In this small course which birth draws out to death,

And think how evil becometh him to slide

Who seeketh heaven, and comes of heavenly breath.

Then, farewell, world! thy uttermost I see.

Eternal Love, maintain thy life in me!

Pastoralism

Italian poetry influenced the Elizabethan lyric in another direction - pastoralism. We need not trace it from Theocritus and Virgil. The note of artificiality which is generally associated with pastoral poetry, is almost inconspicuous in Theocritus. Simplicity, a larger air, the scenery and background of real life and nature, a wholesome tone are the characteristics of his idylls. In Virgil the pastoral tends to take extraneous elements - politics, eulogies of patrons, even comments and satires on social life. The development of pastoral poetry in the Middle Ages followed the lines of Virgil, but its character was further complicated by the invasion of allegory. Petrarch, therefore, rightly remarks that 'it is in the nature of this class of ~~poetry~~ literature that, if the author does not provide a commentary, its meaning may, perhaps, be guessed but can never be fully understood.'

The revival of pastoralism at the Renaissance is perhaps traceable to the yearning of the sick and weary soul to escape, if it were but in imagination, to a life of innocence and simplicity. Pastoralism came then as a vanished dream of the past. "It was at Italian breasts that the infant ideal, reborn into a tumultuous world, was nursed. The other countries of continental Europe borrowed that ideal from Italy, though each in turn contributed characteristics of its own. It was to Italy that England too was directly indebted, while at the same it absorbed elements peculiar to France and Spain." Petrarch wrote Latin eclogues. He was followed by Baptista of Mantua - the Mantuan whose praises were chanted by Shakespeare's pedant Holofernes. Then Poliziano began to write pastorals in Italian, and set the fashion to a crowd of poets. The ideal to forget it."

How pastoralism came to be introduced into English poetry. of pastoralism reached its maturity in Sanazzaro's Arcadia , written in mixed prose and verse. Sidney was evidently inspired by Sanazzaro.

Sanazzaro was the first to apply the geographical name of Arcadia to the imaginary realm of pastoral simplicity. Greg thus explains the significance of its choice: ".....the selection of the barren mountain district of central Peloponnesus as the seat of pastoral luxuriance and primitive culture is not without significance in respect of the severance of the pastoral ideal from actuality. In it the world-weary age of the later renaissance sought escape from the materialism that bound it. Italy had turned its back upon mysticism in religion, and upon chivalry in love; its literature was the negation of what the northern peoples understood by romance. Yet it needed some relief from the very saneness of its rationalism, and it found its antidote to its vicious court life in the crystal springs of Castaly. What the picture of Perugino's saints is to the feuds of the Baglioni, such is the Arcadian dream to the intellectual cynicism of Italian politics."

He further says, "Theocritus turned from polite society and sought solace in his no doubt idealized recollections of actual shepherd life. On the other hand, to the allegorical pastoralists from Virgil to Spagnuoli, the shepherd-realm either reflects, or is made directly to contrast with, the interests and vices of the actual world; in their work the note of longing for escape to an ideal life is heard but faintly, or not at all. In the songs of the late fifteenth century and in Sanazzaro there is a genuine ~~revival~~ pastoral revival; the desire of freedom from reality is strong upon men in that age of strenuous living. It has been happily said that Mantuan's shepherds meet to discuss society, Sanazzaro's to forget it."

How pastoralism came to be introduced into English poetry.

George Turberville translated, in 1567, the first nine eclogues of Mantuan. He was followed by Thomas Harvey later. Attention was paid to Theocritus and Virgil also. "Six Idillia, that is, Six Small or Petty Poems or Aeglogues" of Theocritus were retranslated by an anonymous writer and dedicated to E.D. (probably Edward Dyer) in 1588; and the Beucolics and Georgics of Virgil were translated by Abraham Fleming. But Barnabe Googe may be said to be the real pioneer of pastoralism in English poetry. He published eight eclogues in 1563, and was followed by Alexander Barclay. In both the influence of Mantuan is well marked. Between Sidney's Arcadia and Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar the cult of pastoralism was popularised and established in England. Arcadia was an ideal escape for Sidney who had known too well the vanity and disappointment of court-life. If not so much an ideal escape, The Shepherd's Calendar was for Spenser just an outlet for his creative energy, for his pensive reflections on life and nature, letting him follow up and enrich by the wealth of his imagination the different traditions and conventions of ~~pastoral~~ pastoral poetry that had preceded him.

We are not concerned with the influence that pastoralism exercised upon the drama of the day - an influence as pervasive perhaps as upon the lyric, for even when a play is not distinctly pastoral in form and character, as very few indeed are such, the pastoral motive (e.g. the Arcadian ideal of vanished simplicity and innocence), pastoral imagery, even pastoral characters, or a pastoral background may be there. The songs interspersed through such plays are of remarkable interest - they express the quintessential mood of pastoralism. The best representative collection of pastoral poems is England's Helicon. "To open England's Helicon is to pass for the first time into the Arcadia of pastoral poetry."

Topas, David Italian music

Let us now examine how Italian music enriched the Elizabethan ~~music~~ ^{lyric}. Chappell writes, "During the long reign of Elizabeth, music seems to have been in universal cultivation, as well as universal esteem. Not only was it a necessary qualification for ladies and gentlemen, but even the city of London advertised the musical abilities of boys educated in Bridewell and Christ's Hospital, as a mode of recommending them as servants, apprentices, or ~~husbandmen~~ husbandmen....."

"Tinkers sang catches; milkmaids sang ballads; carters whistled; each trade, and even the beggars, had their special songs; the base-~~viol~~ lute hung in the drawing room for the amusement of waiting visitors; and the lute, cittern and ~~virx~~ virginals, for the amusement of waiting customers, were the necessary furniture of the barber's shop. They had music at dinner; music at supper; music at weddings; music at funerals; music at night; music at dawn; music at work, and music at ~~play~~ play."

Even if we suppose that Chappell might be overstating the fact a little, we may well believe that music was as intensely cultivated as poetry in those days in England. Music of a popular kind had been handed down by minstrels and harpers who were always patronised by the humbler folk. The mass of popular poetry which has been preserved in W.C.Hazlitt's collection(Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England) bears witness to the fact. Perhaps the popular songs were sung to some familiar tunes - that had become too familiar by repetition in the mouths of minstrels. Yet these tunes were not unpleasing; they were readily welcome to the uncritical audience by reason of their familiarity and universal currency. The themes of these songs were those taken from stories and romances of olden time such as the Tale of Sir

Topas, Bevis of Southampton, Guy of Warwick, Adam Bell and Glym of the Clough and "such other old romances or historical rimes, made purposely for the recreation of the common people at Christmas dinners and bride-ales and in taverns and ale-houses." The same popular tunes, as Puttenham notes, were used in carols and rounds.

But an era of 'cultured' music, which had its beginning perhaps in the elegant pastime of the courtly circles, opened in the reign of Henry VIII. Henry VIII, though but an indifferent composer himself, gave practical encouragement to music by inviting to his court the known musicians of the time, and getting them to compose songs in healthy rivalry. There was no doubt that Henry VIII was a great lover of music. As Mr. J. M. Gibbon writes, "One of the charms that drew this monarch to Anne Boleyn was her skill in music. At the court of France she had learned "to dote on the compositions of Josquin de Pres," and she has been credited with the writing of a very beautiful song, "O Death, rock me on sleep," said to have been written in prison shortly before her execution." The Royal Chapels too were centres of musical activity, and Wooldridge says that "these associations of carefully chosen workers, recognised as authorities, invited to provide the music which they were themselves to sing, stimulated in composition by the hope not only of the Royal commendation and reward, but also of public recognition and approval, must have been in all cases wonderful centres of artistic progress, hotbeds of ~~compositions~~ composition daily putting forth finer and still finer productions."

Music was as popular in the court of Elizabeth as in that of Henry VIII. To quote again Gibbon, "Queen Elizabeth played the lute and viol before she was ten years old. Roger Ascham, her tutor, said of his royal pupil when she was sixteen, "In music she is very skilful, but does not greatly delight." Seven years later at Harfield she is described

as playing on the virginals, accompanying one of the children choristers of St. Paul's, while William Camden, the antiquarian friend of Ben Jonson, speaks of her as "being able to sing and play on the lute prettily and sweetly." William Byrd, one of the greatest of English musicians, was her music teacher. During her progresses through the country, Elizabeth, not content with the music that might be offered by her hosts, took in her retinue a choir from the Chapel Royal, comprising six gentlemen and six children. The duties of a maid of honour included those of playing and singing to the queen. On 24 February, 1601, the morning of the execution of her late favourite, the Earl of Essex, Elizabeth distracted her thoughts by playing on the virginals."

Now if in the days of Elizabeth England was becoming Italianated in her literary fashions and conventions, and no less in her vices, it was not strange that she would seize upon the new-fangled fashion in Italian music - the madrigal.

Before we can consider the origin of the madrigal and its introduction into England, we shall have to examine the actual state of things in Italian music. Direct proof of the existence of a native school of Italian music at the beginning of the fourteenth century is wanting. As Wooldridge points out, the methods of the French composers of the thirteenth century were popular with the Italians at first. But by the middle of the fourteenth century the art of music seems to have decayed in France and we find a fairly large number of composers flourishing in the regions of central Italy - in Tuscany and especially in Florence. As Wooldridge notes, "Padua.....might have possessed a school of composition during the first quarter of the century, but that school had by this time probably become merged in the Florentine, which was now evidently responding freely to the stimulus of the great local artistic movement dating from the later years of the preceding century, the effects of which

country, and that it was often undertaken by the greatest in poetry and plastic, are seen at their best in the works of composers, who willingly adapted their learned methods to its lighter necessities. This was especially evident, for instance, in the beginning of the sixteenth century in the work of Cornysch, who, although himself one of the chiefs of the old as poetry, (for, as William Alexander Barrett - English Glee and Madrigal Writers notes that the poetical madrigal was older, and also a large number of plain compositions, chiefly in consisting of a pithy idea, conveyed in a popular versification). But in the hands of the Italian it came to be wedded to a lighter and gayer melody. As Rimbault puts it, "The dull monotony, founded upon the ancient tones or modes of the church, which is the peculiar characteristic of the early Flemish and French secular music, (no matter what expression the poetry might have required), gave place to those lighter and elegant snatches of melody which everywhere pervade the writings of the principal Italian composers of the period....."

The madrigal is an important link in the secularisation of music. Secular music was originally composed according to the severe ecclesiastical style - "crabbed formulae, relics of the dark ages, called tones or modes, and permitting no deviation from them." The melody of the madrigal ^{is} was less formal and freer, as compared with ecclesiastical music, though constructed on the same principle. In a sense it breaks away from the severe ecclesiastical style of composition, or rather substitutes for it a freer, more elastic and more varied mode. But popular music, in the meantime, following a more natural course of development, discovered and adopted in practice the minor and major scales - the real basis of modern music. It was not, however, until the middle of the seventeenth century that the system of scales and keys, now in common use, were definitely adopted.

The madrigal is constructed on the principle of polyphony, To quote Wooldridge, "We can have no doubt that from the earliest times secular composition had flourished in this

country, and that it was often undertaken by the greatest composers, who willingly adapted their learned methods to its lighter necessities. This was especially evident, for instance, in the beginning of the sixteenth century in the work of Cornysch, who, although himself one of the chiefs of the old elaborately contrapuntal school of ecclesiastical music, produced also a large number of plain compositions, chiefly in three parts, note under note, as settings of secular and frequently humorous words. This form, with the addition of a fourth voice part and of simple points of imitation at the beginning of the song, constituted the pattern of secular music in this country until almost 1580. Tye contributed apparently one of the most beautiful examples of this style - for the composition of In going to my naked bed may probably be ascribed to him - Tallis wrote much in it, and was followed by Whythorne, and later by Dowland and others. In short, it may be said that the Old English Song, considered as an artistic form, was the means of enriching music with a number of examples unmatched, either in technique or in pure beauty, in the secular composition of any other country. We say a number of examples, for this description is in fact most suitable to their character, since they represent chiefly the work of the lighter moments of their composers, and were not undertaken either as their main business or as the subject of a united effort for the purpose of developing a still unexhausted vein of the material to its utmost limits. This effort, however, was to come, and it was in the systematic development of the lighter kind of English music, in the form of the Madrigal, that the composers of this country were to establish a standard of absolute perfection in their native methods."

The madrigal is constructed on the principle of poliphony, and so provides independent melodies to be sung by different

voices from two to six. Different words or the same words to different rhythms might be sung simultaneously. Poliphony combines the principles of unity and variety. The composition of the madrigal first "implies separate parts for different kinds of voices, and the juxtaposition of distinct melodies." On the other hand, the principle of unity demands that the distinct melodies "must be controlled by the laws of musical agreement," that "the movements of the individual voice, which formerly ranged at will among the sounds of the scale, must now become subject throughout to the consideration of regard for others." In 1588 Nicholas Yonge published a collection of Italian madrigals translated into English. It marks the beginning of a new era in secular composition. In the same year, earlier than Nicholas Yonge, Byrd had published Psalms, Sonets and Songs of Sadness and Piety. Thomas Watson followed with Italian Madrigals Englished in 1590.

We may note here the occasion and circumstance of Yonge's publication. In his dedication (to the Right Honourable Gilbert, Lord Talbot) he first refers to the practice of singing in the private houses and to the popularity of Italian music: "Since I first began to keep house in this city, it hath been no small comfort unto me, that a great number of gentlemen and merchants of good account, as well as of this realm as of foreign nations, have taken in good part such entertainment of pleasure, as my poor ability was able to afford them: both by the exercise of music daily used in my house; and by furnishing them with books of that kind yearly sent me out of Italy and other places. Which, being for the most part Italian songs, are for sweetness of air very well liked of all

but most in account with them that understand the language; as for the rest, they do not either sing them at all, or at the least with little delight."

Referring to William Byrd's publication, Yonge goes on to say that "men (delighted with variety) have wished for more of the same sort. For whose cause chiefly, I endeavoured to get into my hands all such English songs as were praiseworthy: and amongst others, I had the hap to find in the hands of some of my good friends, certain Italian madrigals, translated, most of them five years ago (i.e. in 1583), by a Gentleman for his private delight (as not long before, certain Neapolitans had been Englished by a very honourable personage, and now a Councillor of Estate; whereof I have seen some, but never possessed any). Finding the same to be well-liked, not only of those for whose cause I gathered them; but of many skilful Gentlemen and other great musicians, who affirmed the accent of the words to be well maintained, the descant not hindered though in some few notes altered, and in every place the decorum kept: I was so bold (being well acquainted with the gentleman) as to intreat for the rest; who willingly gave me such as he had (for of some, he kept no copies), and also some others more lately done at the request of his particular friends."

Yonge did not publish them until he heard "that the same, being dispersed into many men's hands, were, by some persons altogether unknown to the owner, likely to be published in print." We may assume that henceforth the madrigal became a craze of the day. The popularity of the madrigal created a demand for lyrics, and the supply of lyrics that were intended to be set to the madrigal music was as great as the demand. The madrigal was originally a

combination of two or three tercets, variously arranged as to rhyme, followed by one or two couplets, or occasionally by a quatrain. The number of verses ranged from eight to eleven, and in the tercet the second and third lines rhymed and at times the first rhymed with the fourth. Schipper mentions eight varieties of the madrigal, based upon these principles. The English madrigalists did not, as a rule, conform to the strict Italian model. There was some attempt, however, in the beginning, to preserve the effect of Italian iambics by the practice of feminine endings. Otherwise we find the madrigal ranging from six lines to fifteen and even sixteen, and in Barnes, ranging from nineteen to even forty-two lines, and the metre too equally varied, independently of rhymes. As Schipper points out, the canzone-stanza seems to have encroached upon the form of the English madrigal: "The English madrigals found in Sidney and especially in Drummond resemble the Italian madrigals only in subject; in their form they differ widely from their models, as they consist of from fifteen to five lines and have the structure of canzone-stanzas of three- and five-foot verse."

The madrigal-writing influenced the lyric in the direction of a greater unity of form and conciseness of expression. On the one hand it checked the ornate diffusiveness of the pastoral style; on the other, it tended to keep the lyric simple and sensuous as it should be. As knowledge of music was a necessary accomplishment for a gentleman in those days, we might easily believe that the Elizabethan poet must have some tunes running in his head, even when writing lyrics which were not meant to be set to music. We can also believe that either by reason of his training in music, or by reason of the closer relation that then existed

CHAPTER III

between poetry and music, he was particularly attentive to the artistic, if not always necessarily the melodic value, of words. This can be easily proved by turning to the lyrics in England's Helicon. However flimsy in their character and substance, they are remarkable for a dainty grace and sweetness which has been achieved often by the persistent use of vowel and liquid sounds, either under the influence of music or of Italian poetry. Saintsbury notes that this wholesome influence of music upon poetry ceases with the disuse of actual performance by non-professional men and in ordinary home-life, and remarks that "it is probably a little, if not very much, more than a coincidence that a good deal of lyric afflatus ceases likewise."

Stanhope might be overstating the Italian influence upon Wyatt and Surrey as Sidney Lee inclines to think (The French Renaissance in England, p. 110), but two facts stand out clearly from the above statement: (1) that the new poetry grew up under the fostering care of the court; (2) that Wyatt and Surrey were reformers of English style and metre.

The court of Henry VIII readily absorbed foreign fashion and, we can almost say, was quite Italianate. The court-poets took to heart Castiglioni's maxim: "let him (i.e. the courtier) much exercise himself in poesy,.....and also in writing both rhyme and prose, and especially in this our vulgar tongue." One strong impulse, both in Italy and England at the beginning of the Renaissance, was to cultivate and enrich the native tongue. With this end in view the Italians studied Latin verse and the English poets studied Italian verse - not that they had nothing to do with Latin verse which became the common inheritance of all at the Renaissance, but that their study of Italian verse bore immediate and direct fruit in their practice.

The cultivation of poetry being confined within the court.

CHAPTER XII

WYATT AND SURREY

There arose, in England, Puttenham notes, "a new company of courtly-love-makers, of whom Sir Thomas the Elder, and Henry, Earl of Surrey, were two chieftains, who, having travelled into Italy (be it noted that Surrey never visited Italy) and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and style of the Italian poesy, as novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesy, from that it had been before, and for that cause may justly be said to be the first reformers of our English metre and style."

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The cultivation of poetry being confined within the court followers, might have forced up English language and versification to a pitch of accomplishment which it could not

circles, the result was that it became the cult of a coterie, and not of the people at large. Secondly the subject-matter was limited in range. The old conventions and formulas of courtly love which were handed down by Troubadours, and which were refashioned by Italian poets, and to which was added a subtle self-analysis by Petrarch and his school, re-appear in English verse.

The courtly sentiments of love had been already made familiar to England through Trouvere verse, and so Wyatt and Surrey add very little new to the content of English verse except Petrarchan conventions. One valuable gift they, however, contribute to the lyric - the note of introspection, the eye turned inwards to gaze into the abysses of the human heart, which, as we have noted above, Petrarch first heralds into poetry. Perhaps it may be objected that if the poetry of Wyatt and Surrey consists largely of translations, and is still oftener full of echoes of other (Italian or French) poets, it can hardly express their personal feelings. Even if their poems are governed by a set of conventions, the important fact that we cannot overlook is that the character of the lyric, despite conventions, is tending to personal, since there is scope for interpreting, as it may please the individual poet, endless variety of moods, situations and experiences, whether invented or actually felt.

In what sense are Wyatt and Surrey the reformers of English metre and style? The disintegration of English verse after Chaucer was an obvious fact. His followers could not carry on his tradition either because the secret of Chaucer's versification was lost to them, or because the gradual disappearance of the final -e made trouble for them. Or one might think that Chaucer's exceptional genius which descended to none of his followers, might have forced up English language and versification to a pitch of accomplishment which it could not

ought to be, an exact reproduction of another.....the maintain. The varied lyrical forms that arose in the fourteenth century did not seem to have been much affected by the ebb and flow in the metrical system. It seems strange that the followers of Chaucer did not care to cultivate them. Lydgate, Occleve and Hawes simply floundered and sprawled in a poetical chaos. Skelton could keep his head above only by the native vigour of his genius; his doggerel saved him in a manner. Even Wyatt himself betrays hesitancy and uncertainty in the handling of metre and verse; often he fails to bring out melody from the stubborn elements of verse with which he has to deal. The task that, therefore, lay before Wyatt and Surrey was far from an easy one. It was attempted by the introduction of new forms from Italy, and by deliberate cultivation of precision, balance and polish. Petrarch with his technical perfection of art, with the note of personal emotion, was their model for the time.

To take only one instance, the introduction of the sonnet into English verse was far from being the accidental choice of a literary fashion. The form of the sonnet itself imposes certain limits within which a poet is to work. They were rather salutary bonds for Wyatt and Surrey when they had to handle language, metre and verse still in a state of flux. It put them on the way to precision, unity and balance. At the same time the English poets were careful enough not to imitate slavishly the Italian form of the sonnet. Their preference of the couplet-end has a justification of its own. It is best adapted to the genius of the English language. Or Saintsbury puts it, "There has been for sometime past a habit of speaking of this form as if it were in some way inferior and even bastard, because it does not follow the usual Italian arrangement of octave and sestet. But this seems to be altogether unreasonable, and to proceed from neglect of the fact that the prosody of one language never can be, and never

ought to be, an exact reproduction of another.....the peculiar character of the Italian language, and especially of the Italian hendecasyllable with feminine rhyme, gives a certain character to any Italian stanza which winds up with a couplet. This character is less suitable to the gravity and intensity of the sonnet than the triplet-ending with rhymes disjoined. But nothing similar happens in the slower and more sententious movement of English, with its usual, if not invariable, restriction to decasyllables and masculine rhymes. On the other hand, the couplet-ending to an English ear does very much to clench and impress that single, or at any rate prominent, meaning which is so much of the essence of the sonnet. To say, as it is sometimes said, that the great name of Shakespeare, or - as the more courteous and fairer arguers on that side put it - his magnificent achievement, creates an illegitimate prejudice in favour of the couplet-ending, is quite unjust. The advantage of the form, and its equal or perhaps superior adaptability to the needs of English, as compared with the octave-sestet with entangled final rhyme, show themselves in the early experiments with which we are now dealing."

(The Earlier Renaissance, pp. 270-1)

Secondly to express the subtler shades of meaning, conceits, imagery and ingenuity, which the metaphysics of love demanded, meant a great schooling of the language itself. Whether the poet has any personal experience of love or not, he deals with the various symptoms, with the pains and pleasures of love. The range of ideas and feelings within which he moves is necessarily narrow. The excellence of such poetry, therefore, depends on the proportion in which the abstract idea of love is clothed in a sensible image. The poet must at any rate evoke the semblance of passion. So the composition of such poetry invites a

succession and variation of metaphors, and an endeavour at originality necessarily tends to ingenuity of expression. This explains the abundance of metaphors and conceits in the Petrarchan school of poetry.

A good many of Wyatt's sonnets are translations or adaptations of Petrarch. An imitator may follow either of these methods. He could borrow the main theme, and add new details, varying the expression in the direction of over-refinement or exaggeration. Or he might take selected phrases from the original sonnets, and adding to them from his own store, develop them in his own way. Examples of either kind are found in Wyatt.

Surrey is a greater artist. He brings to English verse the gifts of style, distinction and polish. If examples of his direct borrowing or translation are not wanting, his poetry more frequently abounds in reminiscences which seem to enter into the very texture of his verse, and in the process of assimilation and absorption, turn to something rich and fragrant.

Again they seem to be guided by different tastes. Wyatt generally prefers the conceited sonnets, and seems to be little interested in those in which Petrarch introduces delicate touches of nature. Surrey, on the other hand, has more thoroughly assimilated and mastered the Italian manner, the Italian ease and delicacy - the Italian artistic conscience seems to have taken hold of him. He shares too Petrarch's sensitiveness to physical beauty; he has an eye for the pictorial and dramatic, nor is he indifferent to the value of nature as a background or illustration. "The soote season," though suggested by Petrarch, is steeped in the feeling of an open-air life. He far transcends the original here. If the poem is no more than an enumeration of obvious details, still it seems to be instinct with a genuine appreciation of the beauties of nature. We may trace it back to the reverdie

tradition, the tradition of Summer is icumen in. Another poem is equally noteworthy - So all thinges nowe doe holde their peace. The moment of hushed stillness is pictured here with exquisite delicacy.

Yet when Wyatt is free from his foreign model, he can write verses, full of passionate energy, presenting some strongly felt emotion in simple and direct language. We have such an example in Forget not yet the tryde intent, with its nervous intensity of feeling, with its soaring melody. There is the note of personal feeling, expressed with rare tenderness, in the sonnet on the death of Cromwell - The piller perisht is wherto I lent. His elemental passion sometimes breaks forth in his love-poems, though they are often written in a conventional strain. There may be no deep feeling in the poem in which he alludes to Anne Boleyn - for his relation with her was strictly governed by the tradition of courtly love, yet Courthope admits that "there are, indeed,.....many of Wyatt's love poems, in which the flame of his ardent and enthusiastic nature seems to burn in the very movement of his verse; but these may well have been inspired by some other object than the unfortunate queen."

We may point out here that at times Wyatt's manliness and independence seem to be in revolt against courtly conventions. We sometimes hear the anti-courtly note in his lyrics. The doctrine of uncomplaining submission to the will of the mistress does not evidently appeal to him. We may take the poem - Farewell love and all thy lawes for ever, in which Wyatt declares his freedom from servitude of love. Miss Foxwell's comment on it does not seem to be to the point: "The chapter of his youth was closed, from henceforth his life had a sterner purpose. In the days when manhood was assumed at the age of fifteen, it is no wonder than men aged rapidly and were considered old at forty."

Sometimes Wyatt achieves rare felicity of expression;

for example, a line like this - A swete languor, a great lovely desire, seems to be the effect of a happy chance. Wyatt is after all at his best in his short love-lyrics, in which are combined a certain rugged force and vehemence with strictest economy of expression, not seldom touched with grace and beauty, and in which he perhaps gives best expression to his native genius. They are mostly written for the accompaniment of the lute. The grave, stately music of My lute awake places it apart. But he can write sometimes in a lighter vein, for example, the song:

in their day Ah Robyn,
 new modes of play joly Robyn,
 while the English tell me how thy leman doeth,
 France calls and thou shalt knowe of myn.

It is a pastoral dialogue, and seems to have been very popular at the time. And wylt thou leve me thus? (from the Devonshire MS., as selected by Miss Foxwell) is an exquisite poem with its tone of wistfulness, with the haunting melody of the repetition - And wylt thou leve me thus?

of French song.....
 We believe we say Say nay, say!

From the same manuscript comes also the song -

What shulde I saye,
 Sins faithe is ded

- with its wonderful lyric cry. In short lyrics of this kind, not in all, but in some of them at least there sounds elfin music, half-articulate, but all the same persistent and never failing to ravish the human ear. There is one poem which is a revival of the motive of the chanson dramatique:

Howe shulde I
 be so plesunte
 in mye semblaunt
 as my fellowes be?

Here he goes back to the earlier French type of verse. He has written some 9 rondeaus, but the light, airy touch which is the characteristic of a French rondeau is not there. It is difficult to gauge the exact measure of French influence upon Wyatt. On this point Sidney Lee writes, "The signs of Wyatt's and Surrey's Italian inspiration are not to be mistaken, but there are subsidiary aspects of the Italian influence which link Wyatt's and Surrey's work with contemporary France more closely than Puttenham perceived. They learned much of the poetic art of Italy from the Italian poet who was domiciled in their day in Paris and was bringing to French notice the new modes of poetic satire, of blank verse and the sonnet; while the English poets' debt to the indigenous poetry of France calls for a fuller acknowledgement than has yet been rendered." (The French Renaissance in England, p.110). On the other hand Miss Foxwell argues that French influence upon Wyatt was indirect and that though he came in contact with both Marot and St. Gelais, (as he was a musician and peculiarly sensitive to refrains) he carried away with him only snatches of French songs and rondeaus. (Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt, p.65). We believe we might limit the influence to mere echoes and reminiscences in Wyatt's songs. We should remember here also that the French types of verse, with their lilting rhythms, were already naturalised in England, and Wyatt needed not to have crossed the Channel to fetch them from Marot or St. Gelais. In his lighter songs we do certainly catch now and then the faint echoes of French rhythm and melody.

Surrey has a distinction of style and ready power of assimilation which have rendered somewhat obscure the nature and extent of his indebtedness. He always touches the original to finer issues; therefore his borrowings are almost discounted by the richer transmutations he yields. He has certainly more grace and melody than Wyatt, but he has less of Wyatt's flaming

passion. The Geraldine myth, which was embellished, decorated and put into currency by Thomas Nasf in The Unfortunate Traveller is now a faded one. It is supposed that Surrey wrote his Geraldine songs about 1541, when Lady Elizabeth was 13, and he, about 24 years of age. It was merely playing at courtly love. There is detailed mention of the lady in the two poems - From Tuskane came my ladies worthy race and The golden gift that Nature did thee geve. Surrey, as it appears, does not follow the old courtly tradition of keeping the name of his mistress secret. References to "Tuscan," "Florence," "The Western Isle," weave the magic of names, strange and far-off, into the personal account. His Phillida was a fair maid is a typical example of pastoral, which, although it owes much to the foreign model, anticipates the native tradition in its tendency to narrative form. The element of description predominates in the poem - The Sunne when he hath spred his raies. It is a pretty long poem in octosyllabic couplet. If no specific aspect of nature is described, at least a vaguely pastoral landscape is suggested. After several descriptive paragraphs comes the poet's love-lament which is set against the overflowing life and beauty of nature. There is one poem at least in which he sounds the deep note of passion - So cruell prison! howe could be betide alas! Reminiscences of the past lend a pathetic interest to the poem. With his personal lament he combines a lament for decaying chivalry. Courthope writes of the poem, "I know of few verses in the whole range of human poetry in which the voice of nature utters the accents of grief with more simplicity and pathos." Surrey rarely, if ever, attains to this vibrant note of passion. His lyric muse best delights with toying with the light and airy fancies of love, or with the graceful Petrarchan conceits, and ringing changes on them. As a poet Wyatt is more virile and passionate - he feels more deeply and intensely and sometimes the sweep and

rush of his passion seems to break through the bonds of language. Not that he has not much of lyric melody within him, but that he sometimes lacks the artistic discipline to bring it out into words. Surrey, on the other hand, skims along the surface. "Pretty" and "elegant" are the epithets that we may apply to his verse. With his facile gift of versification he can render any theme into music.

We may notice here the new metrical schemes introduced by Wyatt and Surrey. From Italy came the sonnet, ottava rima and terza-rima; from France came the rondeau. Wyatt has a good many poems in ottava rima; the rhyme-scheme is ababedee. Surrey has only one poem in ottava rima, - If he that erst the form so lively drew. The terza-rima first appears in Chaucer's Complaint to his Lady. Wyatt has three poems in terza-rima. Surrey's Description of the restless state of a lover may be taken as a good example. The rhyme-scheme is ababcbedc, dedefefgf and so on. As Schipper explains the structure, "the first and third lines of the first triplet rhyme together, while the middle line has a different rhyme which recurs in the first and third line of the second triplet; and in the same manner the first and third lines of each successive triplet rhyme with the middle line of the preceding one, so as to form a continuous chain of three-line stanzas of iambic five-foot verses till the end of the poem, which is formed by a single line added to the last stanza and rhyming with its second line."

The rondeau was brought to perfection by Marot who made the refrain the central feature. As Gileson White writes (Ballades and Rondeaux, p. lxi): The refrain is not counted among the lines of the verse, but is added to the thirteen, and in the neatness of its introduction, and in the way each of the two verses to which it belongs flow into it, so that it forms an integral and inseparable part of the stanza, the chief difficulty of the rondeau lies." The refrain is formed

by the first words of the first line, and recurs twice, after the eighth and thirteenth verses. The rhyme-scheme is aabba aab-- aabba--; Wyatt sometimes varies it thus: aabba bba -- bbaab--.

Miss Foxwell has a pertinent remark on the inadequacy of syllables in Wyatt's rondeaus: ".....it is most important to remember that music and verse were firmly united; what appears harsh or discrepant in reading a Rondeau or Sonnet disappears when sung to music. Again the constant change from a five-foot to a four-foot line in the Rondeau is quite natural when a musical accompaniment is understood. In the absence of music the Rondeaus and Sonnets should be read with modulated voice, filling out equivalent strong stresses to make up for the absence of weak syllables, and regarding trisyllabic feet as a triplet in music, i.e. as an equivalent to two ordinary notes, and to be got into the same space of time."

As we have said above, Wyatt's poems in light-foot metre have been influenced by French. Sidney Lee traces the eight line-stanza on the rhyme-scheme -ababbcbc, used by Wyatt, to Marot and quotes the following poem of Wyatt as illustration:

I shall assay by secret suit.

His little six-line and eight-line poems, Sidney Lee points out, repeatedly catch the note of the sixains or huitains of Marot or Melin de Saint-Gelais.

The range of Surrey's metrical experiments is much more limited and does not require detailed notice. He, however, makes greater advance upon Wyatt in certain directions. While using the same stanza-forms and metrical schemes as introduced by Wyatt (Surrey's introduction of the blank verse does not concern the lyric account) and suppling up Wyatt's loose and inorganic sonnet, his most important contribution has been towards stabilising the accentual system and regularising the

CHAPTER XIII

ELIZABETHAN MISCELLANIES

Tottel's Miscellany

The Miscellanies, which represent the poetical anthologies of the time, came into fashion at the beginning of the Elizabethan era. It is difficult to suggest any good reason for the inauguration of the Miscellanies as the channel of poetical activities of the time. A fact which has been repeatedly impressed upon the reader is that the contributors did not like to appear in print. Tottel's Miscellany was for sometime in private circulation. The reason given by Puttenham seems to be partly true: "Now also of such among the Nobilitie or gentrie as be very well seene in many laudable sciences, and especially in making or Poesie, it is come to passe that they have no courage to write and if they have, yet are they loath to be a knowen of their skill. So as I know very many notable Gentlemen in the Court that have written commendably and suppressed it agayne, or els suffred it to be publisht without their own names to it: as if it were a discredit for a Gentleman, to seem learned, and to show himself of any good art." Puttenham hints at prejudice against appearing in print, or it may be that the contributors to the miscellany were haunted by shyness of publicity.

One thing that it proves is that poetry was still the pastime of a coterie - and perhaps we may assume an air of dilettantism about the miscellany affair. But when we consider the phenomenal popularity of the first miscellany soon after its publication, to be followed by a succession of similar miscellanies, we may imagine the popular demand for poetry and also the intense literary activities in response to the demand. We may also believe with Mr. Rollins that the miscellanies provided the best collection of new songs, which, in a particularly musical age, partly accounts for their popularity.

The first edition of Tottel's Miscellany, so called after

the printer, came out on June 5, 1557, under the title: 'Songs and Sonnettes, written by the Right Hon. Lord Henry Howard, late Earl of Surrey, and others. Apud Richardum Tottel, 1557. Cum privilegio.' The second edition followed on July 31, 1557, minus 30 of Grimald's poems and including 40 new pieces by uncertain authors, the total being raised to 280 from 271. As verified by Mr. Rollins, the third edition is dated 1559; the fourth edition, 1559; the fifth edition, 1565; the sixth edition, 1567; the seventh edition, 1574; the eighth edition, 1585 and the ninth edition, 1587. Thus during 30 years it went through 9 editions.

The main or rather the most important contributors to Tottel's Miscellany are Wyatt and Surrey. We have already dealt with Wyatt and Surrey. We may begin with Nicholas Grimald whose name appeared in full under his poems in the first edition. He has been supposed by some authorities to be associated with Tottel in the publication of the miscellany; at any rate he was in business relations with Tottel, for it appears that Tottel published, in 1556, Grimald's translation of Cicero's 'De Officiis.' But Mr. Rollins shows that Grimald had nothing to do with the publication of the miscellany.

Grimald contributed 40 poems to the miscellany, 30 of which disappeared from the second edition and the name shrank to N.G. Grimald's composition is stiff and laboured - and overladen with classical allusions. The titles of some of his poems sufficiently indicate the nature of their contents. - Marcus Catoes Comparison of mans life with yron, Cleobulus the Lydians riddle, Prayse of measure-kepyng. He seems rather fond of parading his classical learning and reiterating commonplace maxims, which are sometimes given an epigrammatic turn. In his complimentary addresses to women whom he seemed to have known - To L.I.S., To Maistress D.A., A new Yeres gift to the I.M.S., etc., there is a note of intimate personal contact. A lamentable lack of originality is quite common. Surrey showed the way with his

of inspiration makes his poems so dull and heavy. Courthope, however, discovers in his love poems 'the earliest notes in English poetry of that manner which culminated in the "metaphysical" style of Cowley and his contemporaries." Grimald may hunt now and then for a recondite figure or image; otherwise he has nothing in common with the metaphysicals - he has neither the chiaroscuro of their wit nor the pregnant compression of their thought. Grimald generally affects the Poulter's measure and the septenaries. He has written sonnets too after the manner of Surrey. There are several epitaphs by him, of which A funerall song, upon the deceas of Annes his moother has the accent of genuine feeling, expressed more directly, though the classical illustrations and figures are his besetting sin here as elsewhere. As a poet Grimald possesses some amount of smoothness of versification, but he is sublimely innocent of elementary humour and totally lacking in passion. His is an instance of plain, unsophisticated intelligence, which, in verse, seeks to supply the deficiency of passion or poetic feeling by classical erudition or proverbial wisdom.

Of the "Uncertain Authors" several have been identified: J. Canand, Sir John Cheke, William Gray, John Harrington, John Heywood, Thomas Vaux, etc. Other contributors are George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford and Sir Francis Bryan, but Mr. Rollins says that their specific contributions have not been identified. The uncertain authors are not individualised by distinction of style or matter. All that can be said of them is that if they could not help in raising the standard set by Wyatt and Surrey, they did not sink much below it. They repeat variations of the love-motive, begun by Wyatt and Surrey. The moral vein is quite fairly predominant. There is nothing either refreshing or original about them either in phrasing or in the character of thought.

We may notice a few of their poems here. The praise of the mean state is quite common. Surrey showed the way with his his praise of meane and constant estate.

One of these poems - They of the meane estate are happiest possesses certain rugged force and freely uses alliteration:

Wel may If right be rackt, and overronne;
 So rare And power take part with open wrong
 Peace to If fear by force do yelde to soone,
 Be to The lack is like to last to long.

In Comparison of Lyfe and death there occurs one good passage in which the sentiment and imagery seem to be fresh:

Death is a port, wherby we passe to joy,
 Life is a lake, that drowneth all in pain
 Death is so dere, it ceaseth all annoy;
 Life is so lende, that all it yeldes is vayn.

The titles only of some of the love poems indicate how conventional they are - The lover sheweth his wofull state, and prayeth pitie; The lover that once disdained love is now become subject beyng caught in his snare; The lover here telleth of his divers joyes and adversities in love and lastly of his ladies death. The contraries in a lover's experience are dwelt upon in What thing is that which I bothe have and lacke. We may mention two poems in conceits run riot: one is A Praise of his ladye, rhyming alternately in eights and sixes, which is assigned to John Heywood and supposed to celebrate Queen Mary I; the other is Thassault of Cupide upon the fort where the lovers hart lay wounded and how he was taken, by Lord Vaux. Another poem by Lord Vaux - The aged lover renounceth love is of interest because it furnished the grave-digger's song in Hamlet. This poem, if not very crispy in melody and phrasing, is characterised by vigour of the imagination, and in some of its realistic details shows a remarkable advance on the average productions of the day. There is one good sonnet at any rate on the Petrarchan model - A Praise of Petrarke and of Laura his ladie. It is close-knit and well-balanced; there is also certain heightening of feeling in it:

O Petrarke hed and prince of poets all,

Whosel lively gift of flowing eloquence,
 Wel may we seke, but finde not how or whence.
 So rare a gift with thee did rise and fall!
 Peace to thy bones, and glory immortall
 Be to thy name, and to her excellence.

There is one short noteworthy lyric - Of a Rosemary braunche sente:

Suche grene to me as you have sent,
 Such grene to you I sende agayn.

It seems to catch the note of Wyatt's shorter lyrics, but is touched by a more delicate and tender fancy.

Tottel's Miscellany represents but tentative efforts at poetic revival. With the Italian models before these poets and the enthusiasm of Renaissance culture stirring within them, it is not surprising that the old themes - love with its variety of moods and moralisings on life and conduct, the latter derived from the native tradition of poetry, should continue among them. The Poulter's measure and the septenaries are again popular with them as with Grimald. There are fewer examples of the sonnet. Traces of alliteration are not uncommon. Conceits are fairly on the way, but not very prevalent as we might have expected from Wyatt's example. It appears that the classical influence of Grimald is more pronounced in the uncertain authors than the Italian influence of Surrey; and if we compare again the next two poetical miscellanies (leaving out A Handful of Pleasant Delights, which differs so much in character and content) - The Paradise of Dainty Devices and A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions, we find the classical influence predominant and the Italian influence almost in abeyance. There is, however, one fact unmistakable; it is that the verse, in the hands of the uncertain authors, however indifferent their gifts might have been, attains a substantial measure of smoothness and freedom of movement, and becomes more and more plastic to grace and elegance of expression.

A Handful of Pleasant Delights

Rollins writes: "There is every reason to believe that the Handful was actually issued in 1566." As he shows, it is identical with 'A Booke of very pleasaunte sonnettes and storyes in myter', by Clement Robinson, licensed to Richard Whones in 1566.

Among the reasons given for this early date, the most pertinent seems to be the one that "the tunes were so old and are now so hard to trace that even William Chappell, an authority whose knowledge of popular tunes was unrivalled, could include only four or five of them in his Popular Music of the Olden Time."

It is different in character from the miscellanies from Tottel's to A Poetical Rhapsody. It contains only ballads, most of which are supplied with tunes of their own. It was intended to appeal to a wider and rather less sophisticated public. The palmy days of minstrelsy were passing away; and with the decay of chivalry the interest shifted from the castle to the tavern or the village green, from the exclusive themes of courtly love to popular carols and ballads. The broadside ballads which are sampled in this collection, we might believe, sprang from the increasing attention paid by the minstrels to the needs and tastes of the common people.

If we forget the close connection of these poems with music and dance, we are likely to ~~forget~~ fall into the same error as Thomas Park, who remarks, "~~The~~ Nearly the whole of them had the disadvantage of being ~~cramp~~ composed to cramp and quaint measures, for the purpose of being sung to certain tunes then in vogue." Most of these tunes, it should be remembered, were dance tunes - Green Sleeves(Alas! my love, ye do me wrong), Quarter Braules(Diana, and her darlings deare), Black Almaine(Maid, wil you marie?), Kypascie(The famous Prince of Macedon), etc. Webbe in his Discourse of English Poetry refers to some of the popular tunes of the day:

"Neither is there any tune or stroke which may be sung or played on instruments which hath not some poetical ditties framed according to the numbers thereof: some to Rogero, some to Trenchmore, to Downright Squire, to Gaillardes, to Pavanes, to Jigs, to Brawles, to all manner of tunes which ^{every} fiddler knows better than myself."

It is interesting to note that Shakespeare mentions many of these tunes by names in his plays. It may be taken as an evidence of the fact that the popularity of the tunes themselves must have led many a singer to compose songs to them. Such compositions will necessarily have very unequal merit. The contents of A Handful of Pleasant Delights are not, however, devoid of literary excellence. Now and then we come across happy phrases, quaint epithets, fresh and lively imagery and lilting rhythms. Rollins remarks, "Many of the ballads in the Handful are pleasing, but it would be an easy matter to pick out Elizabethan broadside ballads that equal or surpass them as poetry. Nevertheless, the poetry of the Handful is not, on the whole, inferior to that of the Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576) or of the Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions (1578)."

We may note here the characteristics of some of the poems. A Nosegaie Alwaies Sweet has some beautiful lines which are echoed in a pathetic context in Hamlet(IV.v. 174ff.). The poem opens with a pretty fancy and then simply enumerates flowers and the virtues or attributes which they symbolise. The opening of the poem - Wherin Danea welcometh home her lord Diophon from the war strikes the true ballad-note. It is gay and sprightly, and there is certain heightening of feeling in it, and certain swiftness of motion in imitating the notes of the trumpet. Attend thee, go play thee is marked by playful wit. It turns on the pastourelle motive - the flouting of a lover by a maiden. The rhyme-scheme is interesting - aabccbd eefff; the length of lines varies considerably; the seventh line has two syllables only and in the last two lines of each stanza there is repetition of the same word to rhyme. Alas! my love, ye do me wrong(Green Sleeves) is rather pretty and quaint in fancy. Maid, will you marrie?(to the dance tune "Black Almaine") is in the right vein of a ballad, in its outspokenness in its twitting, in its irrepressible gaiety, in its homeliness of similes. It is a dialogue, concerned with the gentle rejection of a wooer since the maiden has given her word to another. There is little

variety of rhymes - the same word being used to the same rhyme. The diction is almost prosaic; and there is little of the heightening of expression or feeling - it is singing ~~that~~ which can give them the emotional colour. The subject of these poems is limited - love and its pains, treated almost without any poetical fervour, sometimes some classical legend which has become hackneyed, sometimes a dialogue (recalling the older French ~~debat~~ debat and pastourelle) in a light vein between a maid and her lover.

It may also be noted that though these poems are written in the ballad manner, they are but pale imitations - they have neither the colourful energy, nor rugged simplicity, nor quaint phrasing of a true ballad. Proverbial expressions abound in some of these poems. In one or two there is cheap gibe against womankind. It is a heritage from the popular songs and satires of an earlier age - now it is ~~no more than~~ no more than another poetic convention. A Warning for Wooers illustrates both. Each stanza of this poem contains one or two proverbs.

Despite the popular character of these poems they are pretty full of classical allusions. There is one poem dealing with the story of Diana and Acteon - a story which seems to have caught the popular fancy. There is another dealing with the story of Pyramus and Thisby, and it might have incidentally suggested to Shakespeare the burlesque of Pyramus and Thisby in A Midsummer Night's Dream. Stray illustrations from classical mythology are quite common in other poems. Here is an example from An excellent song of an outcast lover:

But one, and that was she,
whom I in heart did shrine;
And made account that pretious pearle,
and jewel rich was mine.
No toile, nor labour great,
could wearie me herein:
For stil I had a Jasons heart.

It appears that the magic and beauty of the classical legend

were still the revelation of a new world to these ballad-singers and their audience.

The popular element appears here and there in a homely, realistic simile. Sometimes a metaphor is drawn from hawking or hunting. There is one entirely realistic poem - Maide, will ye love me; Ye or No? The mock-serious tone in which it is written makes it so charming.

Sometimes too, but very rarely we catch a note of passionate emotion as in The painefull plight of a lover:

How oft, within my wreathed arme,
desired I to folde

Thy christall corps, of whom I joyed
more dearer than of golde.

A Sonet of two faithfull lovers shows a little more of poetic fervour than the average ones. One exquisite line in it seems to have a surprisingly modern accent:

The secret flames of this my love

The stars had wrought, ere I was borne.

Apart from the tone and colour which can only be given to these ballads by actual singing, ~~as poetry~~ they seem to possess ~~little~~ little value as poetry. They have no artistry either in words or in rhythmic quality. Generally they will be found to have a loose and fluid rhythm, wedded to simple, light-winged words. Perhaps they are an interesting link between the genuine ballad and the art-lyric. Rather we might say that they stand closer to the art-lyric than to the original ballad, and that their chief interest lies in the fact that they are touched by the breath of Renaissance culture and they have partly the same subject-matter as the art-lyric.

opening stanza The Paradise of Dainty Devices lightness of thought

The Paradise of Dainty Devices was published in 1576. It seems to have been very popular, and by 1606 it had reached a tenth edition. It was compiled by ~~Sixcent~~ Richard Edwards. Henry Disle was publisher ~~when~~ who added several new poems. It published 125 poems in all; in Rollins's edition there are 127 poems. The total number of contributors is 29; Some of them were leading poets of the day - Edwards, Hunnis, Lord Vaux, the Earl of Oxford, Churchyard, Jasper Heywood, Francis Kinwelmarsh, Whetstone, etc. The less known poets were Richard Hill, D.S., E.S., Master Bewe, Candish, Master Yloop, R.D. Seven poems are anonymous. Most of the contributors were still either noblemen or men of distinction about the court; but the character of the poems has been definitely ~~changing~~ changing - they reflect very little of lightness and gaiety of court-life, but are mostly grave and didactic in tone. There is, however, a marked progress in ease and smoothness of versification. The themes are very commonplace - almost prosaic, concerned as they are with proverbial philosophy, and as such they are most unlikely to kindle poetic inspiration - hence no happy gift of phrasing, no magic of expression. The titles of the poems, taken at random, clearly indicate their nature - Our pleasures are vanities, Most happy is that state alone, where woordes and deeds agree in one, Trye before you trust, Time gives experience, etc. The same serious note appears too in the love-poems; they are mostly against the dangers and futility of love. Most of the poems are written to be sung. As Rollins writes, "Although no tunes are named in the Paradise most of the poems were written with definite tunes in mind; so that they naturally have a musical movement, a rhythm that dominates, whatever the metrical form be."

We may ~~not~~ note some of the characteristic poems here. When May is in his prime, a poem by Edwards, is connected with the older May tradition and the sad note of longing at the advent of spring, repeated as it is through Latin, Provencal and Middle English lyrics, is faintly echoed here. But the best known poem of Edwards is In goyng to my naked bedde; the tender and wistful strain of the

opening stanza is later combined with weightiness of thought and reflection. Edwards is always noted for elegance of expression, tenderness of sentiment and facile gracefulness. In some of his poems there are faint traces of alliteration.

Melody and smoothness of diction characterise almost all the poems in this collection. Here is one poem - Prudens: The Historie of Damacles and Dionise; however unpromising the theme, it is marked by a melodious strain, easy-flowing, but steady, though not of a soaring or passionate character, nor of a cumulative effect gathering itself into a final burst. Another poem which notably illustrates the closer contact of poetry with music is In his extreme sickness by Lord Vaux. In this poem the words which are used in the last two lines of the first stanza are repeated in the beginning of the lines of the second stanza. It is something like ringing changes on the dominant note. The epigrammatic form and parallelism of thoughts to which these poems are naturally attracted, are evidently due to the exigencies of music.

The love-theme is represented by the poems of Lord Vaux and the Earl of Oxford. There appears dearth of invention, and several love-poems have almost the identical title - A lover disdained, complaineth and Beying disdained, he complaineth by Lord Vaux; A lover rejected complaineth and Not attaining to his desire he complaineth by the Earl of Oxford. Nor do we find in their love poems the airy grace and imaginative fervour of the earlier poets. Lord Vaux has generally a command of smooth rhyme and sometimes he rises to passionate energy of expression and achieves the spontaneous effect of melody. The Earl of Oxford has not Lord Vaux's clarity of thought and expression. In the poem - Not attaining to his desire he complaineth it is not very easy to follow the train of thought, and the hyperbolic illustrations used seem to have been drawn from one of the sonnets of Petrarch : Hannibal's smile (when he sees Carthage laid waste by the Romans) and Ceasar's tears (when he is presented with Pompey's head) representing the lover's inward grief, etc.

It is not, however, the love poems but the serious and didactic poems which represent the true character of this miscellany, for as a matter of fact the love poems are much smaller in number and are further sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought. Perhaps A Description of the world by G.G.(G. Gask or Gaske) strikes the keynote of the collection. We quote a few lines from it:

What is this world, a net to snare the soule

A mass of sinne, a desert of deceite

A momentes joy, an age of wretched dole

.....

And what is man? dust, slime, a puffed of wynde

Conceavde in sinne, plaste in the world with greefe

Brought up with care, till care hath caught his minde.

There is no Renaissance zest for life here; the poets seem to be rather out of love with life - there are frequent cries upon death: Thinke to dye, Oppressed with sorowe, he wyssheth death, Findying no joye, he desireth death, etc. The attitude towards life, represented in the collection, cannot be a pose. The picture has no relieving feature; the colours are thick laid. Here is another poem equally characteristic - No foe to a flatterer :

I would it were not as I thinke, I would it were not so,

I am not blinde although I winke, I feele what winds do blowe:

I knowe where craft, with smilyng cheare creps into bloudy
brest,

I heare how fained speache, speaks faire, where hatred is
present.

I se the serpent lye and lurck, under the grene alowe,

I se hym watch a tyme, to worke, his poyson to bestowe.

What is the cause of this universal distrust, this bankruptcy of faith and honour?

R.A.Douglas Lithgow(Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Second Series, Vol. XVII)

thus comments on the character of these poems: "In this collection of poems the themes are varied only within certain very definite limits, and consist for the most part of ethical truisms concerning the duplicity and capriciousness of human affections, the falsity and fickleness of human friendship, the illusory character of human hopes and pleasures, and the gloomy realities of human life and character. There is, moreover, a prevailing tone of pessimism amid them all which makes their perusal monotonous, until relieved, as frequently happens, by chords of genuine and sympathetic pathos. This gloomy morality can easily be understood when we remember the bigotry, bloodshed, and intolerance of Queen Mary's reign, during which there was, indeed, little justice or security for the lives or property of her subjects."

Metrically the miscellany has very little new interest. There is a fair sprinkling of septenaries, Poulter's measure, Alexandrine and heroic couplet. Lord Vaux and the Earl of Oxford now and then use a 6-lined stanza a b a b c c.

Though the miscellany and the serious note, the same here.

One poem in the association with

Willow, willow

It has a sort of

the popular song

and again enforces

measure of poignancy

pretty and quaint

True poetic feeling

contrast of the

first stanza is worth

The glimmer
Delighted
No gathering

That A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions

A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions was compiled and edited by T.P. (Thomas Proctor) who contributed several poems himself. It was printed by Richard Jones in 1578. It continues in a sense the style and manner of The Paradise of Dainty Devices and accentuates one of its vices - alliteration. The one marked difference is that the proportion of the didactic and love poems is changed. The love poems dominate in this miscellany and partly recapture the earlier note. The influence of balladry which is but barely traceable in The Paradise of Dainty Devices after A Handful of Pleasant Delights is more strongly active in this miscellany; at least poems, in shorter metres, modelled on the ballad stanza, and with the ballad-like swing and movement, are more in evidence. Some of the poems have their tunes assigned to them. The musical rhythm is still the dominant factor in the composition of these poems. Poems in the form of an epistle are a new feature. A good many of the poems have a slender narrative basis, which again may be due to the influence of the ballad model. Though the didactic poems are fairly represented in this miscellany and though even the love poems are not free from the serious note, the gloom and pessimism of the Paradise are not here.

One poem in the miscellany acquires a special interest from its association with the willow song of Desdemona:

Willow, willow, willow, singe all of greene willow.

It has a sort of loose and diffused rhythm, characteristic of the popular songs of the day. The recurrence of 'willow' again and again enforces the song motive and also adds a certain measure of poignancy. The glyttering showes of Floras dames is pretty and quaint in fancy. Alliteration is quite liberally used. True poetic feeling is displayed in phrasing, imagery and in the contrast of the poet's mood with the beauty of description. The first stanza is worth quoting:

The glyttering showes of Floras dames,
Delightes not so my carefull minde;
Ne gathering of the fragrant flames,

That ofte in Floras nimphe I finde:

Ne al the noates of birde so shryl,

Mellodiously in woods that singe,

Whose solemne quires ths skyes doth fill

With noate on noate, that heavenly ringe.

There are several poems in which the lover uses with his mistress moral persuasion - e.g. The lover perswadeth his beloved to beware the deceits and allurements of strange suters. There is one remarkable poem in which a woman complains of the unfaithfulness of her lover.

Would God I had never seen

The tears of thy false eyne,

Or else my eares ful deaf had been bin

That herd those words of thine--

If at places the poem seems to be laboured and artificial, the cry of grief rings true. It is marked by the ballad outspokenness: and the similes too - The wretched hound yt spendeth his dayes or The horse that tredeth ye beaten ways are homely too, true to the ballad spirit. The following stanzas are quite notable for delicacy of insight and imagination:

The weary and long night

Doth make me dreame of thee;

And still me thinks with sight

I see thee here with me

Should still my life pursue;

And then with open armes

I strayne my pillow softe,

And I close mine armes,

Mee thinkes I kisse thee ofte.

But when at last I wake,

And finde mee mockte with dremes;

Alas! with moane I make,

My teares run down like streames.

The classical element is very fairly pronounced in this miscellany.

The Phoenix or Penelope
Cressida or Jason or Leander/~~xxxxx~~ is a common source of
illustrations; ~~Devl.~~ "set forth by R. B. of the Inner Temple,

My fayth alas! I gave
To wight of Cressids kinde;
For stedfast love I love did crave,
As curtsey doth binde.

or

Let mee you finde Penelope,
In minde and loyall hart;
So shall I your Ulysses bee;
Till breathing lyfe depart.

In one poem - The lover having sustayned overmuch wrong at his
ladyes hande, wisheth speedy death there is speculation about
what may follow after death - whether the pain of this ^{earthly}
life will be renewed - influenced no doubt by the picture of
pale ~~shadows~~ shades wandering about on the shores of Lethe and
carrying on a shadowy repetition of their earthly existence. The
poet barely hints at it, but does not work up the image:

And when my death hath done

My duty at her will,

A greater greefe be not begonne,

To last thereafter still

For, after death, if strife

Should still my life pursue;

What then doth death but breed a life

Of mone and mischeefe new?

The Middle English lyric motive - regret for misspent youth
appears again in The Fall of Folly.

Metrically it does not show much difference from the preceding
miscellany except that there is a return to the ballad stanza and
ballad form, in which respect it may have been influenced by
A Handful of Peasant Delights; otherwise Poulter's measure,
Alexandrine and Septenaries are still in favour.

The Phoenix Nest

My tenderest salutation, the poem no doubt expresses genuine

The Phoenix Nest, "set forth by R. S. of the Inner Temple, Gentleman," was published by John Lackson in 1593. There is an interval of fifteen years between the publication of A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions and that of the present miscellany. And during the period it might be naturally expected that there was considerable advance in melody of diction, in gracefulness of sentiment, in deft handling of metres. It may be pointed out, however, that Nicholas Breton, one of the contributors, belongs to the old school and writes in Poulter's measure and septenaries; but we find quite a number of writers searching for newer and more varied metrical effects. The contents of the volume are elegies, allegories, short lyrics, dream poems, etc.

R.S. has been variously conjectured to be Richard Stanyhurst, Richard Stapleton (or Stapilton), Ralph Sidney, Richard Smith, even Robert Southwell without, in each case, satisfactory evidence. G.P. stands for George Peele; N.B., for Nicholas Breton; T.L. for Thomas Lodge; E.O., for the Earl of Oxford; Sir W.H. for Sir William Herbert; W.S. not improbably for William Smith, the author of Chloris and T.W. for Thomas Watson - all more or less gifted lyric poets.

The miscellany opens with three elegies upon Sir Philip Sidney. The first one - A Friends Passion, for his Astrophill is rather too long, beginning with a long-winded description chiefly drawn from the classical source. Not until ~~then~~ the poet comes to speak of Sidney, does he rise to lyric fervour. The following description is noteworthy:

A sweete attractive kinde of grace,

A full assurance given by lookes,

Continuall comfort in a face,

The lineaments of Gospell-books;

I trowe that countenance cannot lie,

Whose thoughts are legible in the eie.

The references to Stella and to the love between the two are marked

the end-rhyme of the first section:

by tenderest delicacy. The poem no doubt expresses genuine feeling and admiration for Sidney, but it suffers from the overloading of ornament. An Epitaph, which follows is of a descriptive character - rather a record of Sidney's life and deeds, and the note of grief is almost inaudible.

The two poems of Nicholas Breton - A Straunge Description of a Rare Garden Plot and An Excellent Dreame of Ladies and their Riddles are allegorical. A more rare, and excellent Dreame, supposed ^{to be} by Greene, is a lengthy and heavy poem, concerned with the vision of "a Ladie faire," and full of luscious description. All the conventional analogies seem to have been gathered up in this poem: 'snow' for the whiteness of the forehead; 'ivory' for smoothness; 'garden-plot' for ~~cheeks~~ the cheeks; '~~damask~~ lillies and damask roses' descriptive of the cheeks; 'vermilion morn' for lips; 'pearl' for the teeth, etc. ~~Phae~~ Some phrases and epithets occur again and again and seem to have a stereotyped character; and they may well suggest a growing tendency towards a sort of poetic diction.

Lodge's poems show a higher lyrical quality. He has a defter touch, a lighter grace and a more spontaneous melody. Of Ceaseless thoughts my mind hath framed fram'd his wings is rather laboured. All day I weepe my wearie woes is full of conceits. My fraile and earthly barke, by Reasons guide repeats an analogy, which starting with Wyatt, has now become hackneyed. The devices often employed by Lodge are balance, antithesis and partly alliteration as in Midst lasting griefes to have but short repose or Accurst be Love and they that trust his traines.

The two most exquisite lyrics in the whole collection are My bonie lasse, thine eie by Lodge and What Cunning can expresse by the Earl of Oxford. Though My bonie lasse is not absolutely free from conceits, its light lyric note, added to sweetness of melody and diction, seems to anticipate the grace and charm of England's Helicon. Metrically also it is interesting; Lodge adopts the rhyme-scheme of the tail-rhyme stanza - a a b c c b, but he reduces the second section of the original line to a mere echo of the end-rhyme of the first section:

My bonie Lasse, thine eie,
 So slie
 Hath made me sorrow so;
 Thy crimson cheekes my deare,
 So cleere,
 Have so much wrought my woe.

What cunning can expresse may be conventional in theme - in fact the analogies are all drawn from the old poetic stock, yet there is evidence of fresh observation and of inventing new analogies. We may compare the following stanza:

Faire Cinthias silver light,
 That beates on running streames,
 Compares not with her white,
 Whose haires are all sunbeames;
 Her vertues so doe shine
 As daie, unto mine eie.

It is written in the popular six-lined stanza - a b a b c c. Many of the phrases and analogies occurring in this poem are almost typical. We may compare with this Lodge's sonnet - Those eies, which set my fancie on a fire; Lodge employs almost the identical analogies in the physical description of his lady.

There is one poem which shows considerable ingenuity not only in its structure but in the capturing and releasing of the melody which gives a quaint charm to it:

Hir face,	Hir tong,	Hir wit
So faire,	So sweete,	So sharpe,
First bent,	Then drew,	Then hit,
Mine eie,	Mine eare,	My hart.

This poem occurs also in the Poetical Rhapsody.

Recurring alliteration is a notable feature in The Phoenix Nest but whenever it is used, it is used not for alliteration's sake, but with a view to the melodious effect that may be secured by it. We may compare the following lines:

A carefull head, first crost with crooked hap,
 A woefull wit, bewitcht with wretched will,

The gentle season of the yeere deals with the reverdie motive, capped on by the contrast of the poet's misery with the reviving beauty of nature. The description is vague and generalised; an elementary colour-sense is shown in the use of words like "green," "black," "skarlet," etc. There is one fresh simile:

When every man is bent to sport,
Then pensive I alone resort
Into some solitarie walke,
As doth the dolefull turtle-dove,
Who, having lost her faithfull love,
Sit mourning on some withered stalke.

A Counterlove is written with a satirical purpose. There is haunting melody with a touch of quaint wistfulness in A Description of Love which appears again in England's Helicon:

Now what is Love? I ~~praise~~ praie thee, tell.

Sweete violets, (Loves paradise) that spread is made up of irregular lines, irregular rhymes, very complicated in metrical scheme:

a b c d e e d c b a f g f g

It is noted for lusciousness of description, and the colour-sense is well-marked:

Vermilion roses, that with new daies rise

Display your crimson folds, fresh-looking faire,

Where radiant bright disgraces

~~xDisgraces~~ The rich adorned raies of roseat rising morne.

Ah! if hir virgins hand

Doe pluck your pure, ere Phoebus view the land.

Aurora now began to rise again by Thomas Watson opens with the classical image of the dawn in all the richness of picturesque suggestion. Sir Painter! are thy colours redie set? is full of details of physical description, often illustrated by classical allusions. We may point out in this connection that the clasical illustrations or analogies which occur in this volume are often aptly chosen, and add to the descriptive passages the effect of "something rich and strange."

We have already noted the principal stanza-forms used in this miscellany. The shorter lyric forms are replacing septenaries and poulter's measure. There are several poems in Rhyme Royal. The six-lined stanza - a b a b c c seems to be an old favourite. There are other variations of the six-lined stanza as ~~xxxxbxxx~~ a a b c c a and a b b a c c, both evidently being influenced by the tail-rhyme stanza.

The Phoenix Nest, though it has something of the manner of the old school, is full of the signs of coming things - in its airy lightness and grace, in its spontaneous melody, in its ornate description, in its surprising quality of epithets and quaint richness of imagery, in its bold metrical experiments. The more characteristically Elizabethan lyric note of England's Helicon is but half-articulate here.

Alexandrines, and
repeated through
gradually fell away
first used by Marlowe,
the Earl of Oxford.
frequent use in The
proper that a stanza
begin. England's
mastery.

In reviewing the
poems we have noted a
analogue and in
in Peterson's Miscellany
classical allusion
miscellanies too
with a happy effect
first time that
adopted and in
facility. England's
poetry is over-st

in descriptive
is suggested, the

England's Helicon

England's Helicon was put together by a certain A.B., who has not been identified, but who appears at any rate to be a person of remarkable taste. It was dedicated to John Bodenham. It was first published in 1600, and republished with additions in 1614.

England's Helicon marks a complete change of style. The experimental stage is now over. We noticed, as we followed the poetic style through the miscellanies, that steady progress was being made in ease and smoothness of versification. In the three miscellanies which followed Tottel's, very little efforts were made to invent new stanza-forms, or to vary the old metrical patterns - the tradition of Tottel's miscellany was mainly followed and yet the shorter lyrics of Wyatt seemed to have found no imitator; it was the septenaries, poulter's measure and Alexandrines, and occasionally the ballad stanza, which were repeated through the three miscellanies, while the sonnet-form gradually fell away. A six-lined stanza which seems to have been first used by Surrey, was at least popular with Lord Vaux and the Earl of Oxford. Its popularity was attested even by its frequent use in The Phoenix Nest. It is in The Phoenix Nest proper that a search for newer and more varied metrical effects begins. England's Helicon represents the stage of perfect mastery.

In reviewing The Phoenix Nest and the two preceding miscellanies we have noted how the classical element in the form of analogies and illustrations was penetrating into English. Grimald in Tottel's Miscellany began overloading his poetry with classical allusions - only in a pedantic manner. But in the later miscellanies the classical illustrations have often been used with a happy effect - and in The Phoenix Nest we see for the first time that in some instances the classical imagery has been adopted and incorporated into a descriptive passage with rare felicity. England's Helicon shows the perfection of the art. Its poetry is over-steeped in classical colour and association. Even in descriptive poems where the background of English landscape is suggested, the blending of the two elements conceals

all artificiality.

England's Helicon preserves the best specimens of the pastoral lyric. We have shown in a previous chapter how Spenser and Sidney initiated the pastoral vogue in England. Their influence seems to be dominant in England's Helicon, and their influence told in favour of Italianate fluency and grace. We may reckon the influence of Wyatt and Surrey finally closed with The Phoenix Nest. Wyatt and Surrey, no doubt, tried to reform English verse by introducing Italian forms, and helped in a manner in impressing upon English the stamp of Renaissance culture which was again indissolubly connected with Italian influence; but in their time the language was but wild and rugged, and even when the Italian models were eagerly adopted ^{the purpose of} for/regenerating English poetry, the state of language and versification did not permit it to absorb the grace and melody of Italian poetry. The influence of Sidney and Spenser, which becomes foremost in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, does not, therefore, introduce a new line of development for the Elizabethan lyric. That which was only begun by Wyatt and Surrey, was consummated by Sidney and Spenser. Perfect assimilation and absorption of the fluent grace, liquid rhythm and diffused ornateness of Italian poetry is now the result best shown in England's Helicon.

There are only four poems of Spenser in the miscellany. But The Shepheardes Calender, published in 1579, had already set the fashion of pastoral poetry. We do not mean to say that the contributors to England's Helicon are direct imitators of either Sidney or Spenser. Almost each poet has an individual note, ~~of his own~~ but the point is that Sidney and Spenser inaugurated the great Elizabethan era in poetry, and that the poets who were contemporary with them, unlike those who came after Wyatt and ~~Surrey~~ Surrey, were able to advance the lyric standard by their varied gifts of graceful phrasing, exquisite melody, playful fancy, etc.

All the distinguished poets of the time are represented here:

sidney, Spenser, Greene, Lodge, Nicholas Breton, Peele, ~~Sir Edward Dyer~~, Richard Barnfield, the Earl of Oxford, Sir Walter Raleigh, Marlowe, Drayton, ~~Henry Constable~~, Thomas Watson, William Browne, etc. E.B. stands for Edmund Bolton; I.D., for John Dickenson; S. E. D., for Sir Edward Dyer; W.H., for William Hunnis; H.C., for Henry Constable; W.S., for William Smith; ~~W.F.G.~~ M.F.G., for Mr. Fulke Greville. Several poems are labelled 'Ignoto.'

Love and all its fanciful moods are the subject-matter of these poems; the serious note is almost absent and ~~the lightness~~ ~~and gaiety~~ it is that aspect of the Renaissance - lightness and gaiety, which is fully represented here. Only the love-motive is adapted to pastoral imagery and conventions. As we noticed above, a sort of poetic diction was springing up; but now it merges into what we may call pastoral diction. The poets still sing the indifference and beauty of their mistresses, but for a 'lover' they substitute a 'shepherd,' and they would call their mistresses by pretty pastoral names.

Two strains - native and foreign are distinguishable in these pastoral lyrics. It is true that we scarcely catch again the lilting note, the spontaneous melody of Wyatt's

Ah, Robin!

Joly Robin!

Tell me how thy leman doth -

so reminiscent of the native pastoral strain. And yet though these lyrics owe a good deal to foreign models, and to Italian poetry in general, in their freshness and variety, in their tendency to narrative form ~~now and then~~ they show their independence of the foreign tradition.

We shall begin with Spenser. There are two poems from The Shepheardes Calender : (1) Hobbinol's Ditty in praise of Eliza, Queen of the Shepherds, written in an intricate lyric stanza, and (2) Perigot and Cuddy's Roundelay. One critic writes, "..... nothing could be sweeter and fresher and more musical than these two ditties. In one important ~~some~~ respect Spenser has harked back

back behind Tottel's miscellany, and that is in his use of a tumbling measure.....

Spenser never repeated these tumbling effects; perhaps his later study of Tasso and Ariosto converted him; perhaps Sidney argued him out of them; but he also never quite succeeded in repeating the music of some of these stanzas, which have all the first freshness of an April voice."

Next comes Sidney. Some of his poems are taken from the Arcadia and some from Astrophel and Stella. Of course the latter are superior in poetical quality. The Shepherd to his chosen Nymph is written in trochaic catalectic, rhyming a a b b c c. Astrophel's Love is dead seems evidently to have been written on the occasion of Stella's marriage with Lord Rich. It is noted for its passionate emotion and swift flow of rhythm. Astrophel the Shepherd, His Complaint to his Flock is rather frigid and sometimes puerile in his endeavour to kindle the glow of feeling. Another of Astrophel to his Stella, written in trochaic octosyllabic catalectic, is a passionate pleading by Astrophel, coupled with an appeal to the enticements of the season(May), which also conspire with love. Stella's confession of love in the poem is beautifully worded. One poem from the Arcadia is quite excellent - The Nightingale. It is difficult to analyse the beauty of the first stanza; it has the magic touch of Keats - words and melody happily blending, words used with the sense of subtlest distinction and melody springing naturally from the allocation of sounds.

Drayton follows in the footsteps of Spenser. One of his eclogues - Rowland's Song in Praise of the Fairest Beta, celebrating Elizabeth under the name of Beta, is closely modelled on Spenser's April eclogue. It is steeped in local feeling and association:

Sound out your trumpets then, from London's stately towers,
To beat the stormy winds aback and calm the raging showers,
Set to the cornet and the flute,
The orpharion and the lute,
And tune the tabor and the pipe to the sweet violins;
And move the thunder in the air with loudest clarions.

In one passage which seems to be rather reminiscent of Spenser

flowers are mentioned plentifully:

Make her a goodly chaplet of azured columbine,
 And wreathe about her coronet with sweetest eglantine,
 Bedeck our Beta all with lillies,
 And the dainty daffodillies;
 With roses damask, white and red, and fairest fleurdelyce,
 With cowslips of Jerusalem and cloves of Paradise.

The Shepherd's Daffodil is another equally delightful poem. No fully portrayed landscape appears in any of these poems. The description is rather generalised, and there is little of local colour. There are such references as 'yonder little hill,' 'yonder field of lillies,' 'yonder spring,' etc. - merely conventional descriptive touches. Here is one passage with a lingering melody:

Through yonder vale as I did pass,
 Descending from the hill,
 I met a smirking bonny lass;
 They call her Daffodil.

Perhaps Rowland's Madrigal is the best of Drayton in this collection. A yearning cry is articulated in soft, melodious verse:

Fair love, rest thee here
 Never yet was the morn so clear;
 that is how it begins. Then follows an appeal to Cupid:

Cupid, help me now,
 Lend to me thy bow,
 To wound her that wounded me.

There is some artistry in the poem. An appeal is made to the attractions of nature arounds:

Hark this pretty bubbling spring,
 How it makes the meadows ring!

Then again,
 Hark the birds in yonder grove,
 How they chant unto my love.

Love, be kind to me,
 As I have been to thee.
 There is one very exquisite comparison:

The roses and thy lip do meet;

Oh, that life were half so sweet!

The concluding lines are touched by a wistful fancy:

~~Lodge~~ Somebody's coming near,

~~There the~~ They shall not find us here,

~~to say compare~~ For fear of being chid.

Take my garland and my glove,

Wear it for my sake, my love,

~~Lodge repeat~~ To morrow on the green,

Thou shalt be our shepherds' queen,

Crowned with roses gay.

Richard Barnfield is represented here by one exquisite poem -

As it fell upon a day, so long attributed to Shakespeare and signed ~~ignot~~ 'Ignoto' in this miscellany. It is so lively in its rhythm and swing: ~~See how~~

~~As it~~ As it fell upon a day

~~In the~~ In the merry month of May,

~~Sitting~~ Sitting in a pleasant shade

~~Which~~ Which a grove of ~~myx~~ myrtles made,

~~Beasts~~ Beasts did leap and birds did sing,

~~Trees~~ Trees did grow and plants did spring:

The poet shows also a quiet appreciation of the beauties of nature.

Thomas Lodge has contributed to the miscellany some of the light, gay and exquisitely melodious songs. Old Damai's Pastoral deals with the contentment which can be enjoyed by shepherds only - a theme common enough in other poems too and essentially connected with the romantic idealism which is the keynote to this group of pastoral lyrics. The Barginet of Antimachus is an adaptation of the fortieth ode of Anacreon, in which Cupid, stung by a bee, wails to his mother. Montanus' Praise of his fair Phoebe is rather madrigalian in character - built up on the principle of repetition of a short phrase, in a melody of "linked sweetness long drawn out:"

~~Phoebe~~ Phoebe sat,

~~Sweet~~ Sweet she sat,

~~In the~~ Sweet sat Phoebe when I saw her,

~~White~~ White her brow,

Coy her eye,

Brow and eye, how much you please me!

A light, airy, playful fancy, wedded to elfin music, characterises ~~Lodge's~~ Lodge's verse. The substance may be very thin, but everywhere the careless ease, the fugitive grace, the rippling melody. We may compare Rosalind's Madrigal :

Love in my bosom, like a bee,

Doth suck his sweet;

Lodge repeats the same simile in another poem:

Love guards the roses of thy lips

And flies about them like a bee.

Lodge sometimes betrays French influence in his rhythm and turn of phrasing, but more of this in a later chapter.

There are three poems of Peele in the collection. Corydon and Shepherd Tony's Song has a touch of wistfulness. Oenone's Complaint has a sonorous note and nothing of his dainty grace and lilting melody. Colin the enamoured Shepherd singeth the Passion of Love is a mere amplification of a conceit.

Greene is always felicitous in phrasing and rhythm. The Shepherd Doron's Jig is written in a light measure and has the true note of a native pastoral. Doron's Description of his fair Shepherdess Samela is full of illustrations drawn from classical mythology, and not free from conventional epithets:

Her tresses gold, her eyes like glassy streams,

Her teeth are pearl, the breasts are ivory

Of fair Samela:

Her cheeks like rose and lily yield forth gleams,

Her brow's bright arches framed of ebony;

Thus fair Samela.

Montanus his Madrigal is touched by a light, airy fancy.

Nicholas Breton is refreshing enough in his free handling of ~~romist~~ poulter's measure and septenaries. In his short lyric outbursts he attains an indefinable grace and sweetness of melody. Phyllida and Corydon strikes the keynote in the opening lines:

In the merry month of May

In a morn by break of day

Of Henry Constable Forth I walk'd by the wood-side

especially noted Whenas May was in his pride.

In A Pastoral of Phyllis and Corydon he works up step by step to a climax on the glory of Phyllis. A Sweet Pastoral is noted for freshness and simplicity of description:

The bushes and the trees

Another is The That were so fresh and green,

short trocheal Do all their dainty colour leese,

scheme. And not a leaf is seen.

The Pastoral The blackbird and the thrush

quintessence That made the woods to sing,

which is meant With all the rest are now at hush,

something of And not a note they sing.

Shepherd Tony who has been identified with Anthony Munday is an equally gifted poet. To Colin Clout, though reminiscent of the legend of Actaeon, is fresh in its imagery and exquisite in its melody:

Another of the Beauty sat bathing by a spring

quite excellent Where fairest shades did hide her.

The Countess of Pembroke's Pastoral is felicitous in descriptive touches. The second stanza begins thus:

Two fronting hills bedeck'd with flowers,

They chose to be each other's seat.

In The Shepherd's Sun there are conventional references to "flowery green," "chequer'd plain," "woods," "yonder beechen tree," - all in the first stanza; then follows a debate between a nightingale and a threstle-cock; the rhyme-scheme is extremely intricate and variable. In The Woodman's Walk he voices the reaction against the city and court life:

Labour's Love Yet found I that the courtly sport

notive as Her Did mask in sly disguise.

For falsehood sat in fairest looks,

It is a classic And friend to friend was coy;

Court favour fill'd but empty books

And there I found no joy.

Of Henry Constable's four poems that appear here two are especially noteworthy. One is Damelus' Song to A Diaphenia; it is light and gay in tone and exquisitely cadenced:

Diaphenia, like the daffadowndilly,
 Pluck the daisy, for it is fit for thee,
 White as the sun, fair as the lily,
 Heigh ho, how I do love thee!

Another is The Shepherd's Song of Venus and Adonis, written in short trochaic lines, but on an intricate and variable rhyme-scheme.

The Passionate Shepherd to his Love by Marlowe expresses the quintessence of pastoralism. The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd, which is meant to be a reply to Marlowe's poem, has caught something of his rhythm and cadence:

If all the world and love were young,
 And truth in every shepherd's tongue,
 These pretty pleasures might we move,
 To live with thee and be thy love.

Another of the same Nature made since, ascribed to Donne, is quite excellent in its way. It is descriptive all throughout, but it is remarkable for a subtle blending of sound and colour:

Come live with me and be my dear,
 And we will revel all the year,
 In plains and groves, on hills and dales,
 Where fragrant air breeds sweetest gales.

There shall you have the beauteous pine,
 The cedar, and the spreading vine;
 And all the woods to be a screen,
 Lest Phoebus kiss my summer's queen.

Then there is that exquisite lyric of Shakespeare from Love's Labour's Lost - On a day - alack the day! It has the same motive as Herrick's

Gather ye rosebuds while ye may.

It is a classical, and for the matter of that a frequently

recurring Renaissance theme, traceable right ^{up} to Ausonius
(De rosis nascentibus):

O maid, while youth is with the rose and thee

Pluck the rose: life is as swift for thee.

Of the poems signed "Ignoto" we may note one or two. Phyllida's
Lovecall to her Corydon, and his Replying is a dialogue between
Phyllida and Corydon, marked by an exquisite play of fancy, each
seeking to outbid the other in praising:

Phyl. I will gather flowers, my Corydon,

To set in thy cap.

Cor. I will gather pears, my lovely one,

To put in thy lap.

The Shepherd's Description of Love, in the form of a dialogue again,
has a certain touch of quaint wistfulness:

Meliboeus: Shepherd, what's love I pray thee tell?

Faustus: It is that fountain and that well,

Where pleasure and repentance dwell;

It is perhaps that sauncing bell,

That tells all into heaven or hell.

And this is Love, as I heard tell.

Some of the poems in the miscellany are taken from Byrd's or
Morley's song-books. It is a proof of the growing popularity of
the madrigals and airs which now begin to absorb a great part of
the lyric afflatus of the time.

The pastoralism of England's Helicon is represented here, but
seems to be a falling off in the lyric temper. The longer poems
odes, eclogues and elegies outnumber the shorter lyrics. The
subjects of the volume are sufficiently varied - there are sonnets,
epigrams and translations from Greek, Latin, Italian and
French.

The first poem is touched by the spirit of the Helicon. The second poem
is in England's Helicon. The second poem is in England's Helicon.

The first poem is touched by the spirit of the Helicon. The second poem
is in England's Helicon. The second poem is in England's Helicon.

Davison's Poetical Rhapsody

This miscellany was first issued by two brothers, Francis and Walter Davison in 1602. It went through three more editions - the second edition in 1608, the third in 1611 and the fourth in 1621. Bullen notes, "The fourth edition is of little or no critical value. Not seldom the first edition preserves the ~~more~~ true reading where later editions give a correct text. The additional poems introduced in the second edition are of much interest; but the later additions in the third edition might well have been spared."

It was dedicated to the most Noble, Honourable, and Worthy Lord William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Herbert of Cardiff, Marmion and St. Martin.

Davison's address to the reader is interesting for several reasons. First Davison blames the printer for giving out the names of the contributors. He desired to maintain privacy, diffident as he was of the merits of the poems. This is, however, a profession of modesty, as Bullen points out. But as ~~the result~~ a result partly of great many wishing publicity and partly of the enterprising printer ignoring the shyness of the few, names of the most were given out. Secondly Davison explains the predominance of love poetry in the collection. From his explanation it appears that it is but a carrying on of the Sidney tradition, and that the defence of such ~~poetry~~ love poetry is "that love, being virtually intended and worthily placed. is the whetstone of wit, and spur to all generous actions, and many excellent spirits, with great fame of wit, and no stain of judgment, have written excellently in this kind, and specially the ever praiseworthy Sidney."

The pastoralism of England's Helicon is continued here, but there seems to be a falling off in the lyric temper. The longer poems such as odes, eclogues and elegies outnumber the shorter lyrics. The contents of the volume are sufficiently varied - there are sonnets, epigrams, epigrams and translations from Greek, Latin, Italian and French.

The first poem is touched by the spirit of irony which rarely appears in England's Helicon. The second poem - A Lottery is

interesting because of its connection with the entertainment of Elizabeth at the Lord Chancellor's House in 1601. The song which is followed by a speech before the announcement of the lottery is not of much merit. The third poem- A contention between a wife, a widow and a maid, is meant to be a compliment to the Queen. The Lie is supposed to be written by Sir Walter Raleigh. It is a severe indictment of the court, the clergy, the rich, the zealots, honour, beauty, favour, wit, wisdom, physic, charity, law, friendship, justice, arts, schools - almost every phase of life. Raleigh sounds the depths of his personal experience. There is not a trace of cynicism - rather a reaction of a great soul to the pettinesses of life. The repetition of the line - And give the world the lie, or some variation of it at the end of each stanza has a cumulative effect of indignation ablaze with the evils of the time. Two Pastorals by Sir Philip Sidney are not in his best manner. His Dispraise of a Courtly Life is a conventional lament on the ills of courtly life. A Fiction by A. W. is a fanciful poem. A Dialogue between Two Shepherds by the Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke, is complimentary to the Queen. A Roundeley by Walter Davison has a good opening, ~~and then~~ but the rest of it is rather feeble:

Strephon. O whither shall I turn me
From thine eyes' sight,
Whose sparkling light
With quenchless flames, present and absent,
burn me?

The two poems of Francis Davison, ~~following are~~ that follow are more interesting. Strephon's Palinode is written in the tail-rhyme stanza. Strephon, having incurred the wrath of Urania by the fault of his own conduct, prays for forgiveness:

Sweet, I do not pardon crave
Till I have
By deserts this fault amended:
This, I only this desire
That your ire
May with penance be suspended.

Eclogue is a very lengthy poem, concerning lament, but there seems to be a greater advance in art - in the portraying of human feelings and interweaving of the same with nature. In the third stanza the poet describes the aspects of winter and the change that is wrought by the returning spring - the description is flavoured by classicalism, true to the pastoral vein. And then follows a description of his woes, linked up with the preceding one of nature - "my endless winter, without hope of spring." Alternately the poet refers to the phenomena of nature and to the contrast of his woes to the same. He seeks to clothe every image of grief in some metaphor of nature, though the result is not always happy. He aims at variety both by the interlinking of long and short lines, and by the multiplicity of the illustrations of his grief. The rhyme-scheme is regular a b a b c c d d e f f e. The first three stanzas are introductory, and have a different rhyme-scheme. Eclogue, Entitled Cuddy, attributed to ~~Cuddy~~ A.W., is written in the same vein and the metaphors of winter and spring, ^{appear} again. An Eclogue by A.W. on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, except for the artificiality of its arrangement as a dialogue, which in the beginning interferes with the impression of sincerity, rises later to a noble dignity of verse and melody, and may have some claim to be regarded as the precursor of ~~interpastoral~~ the pastoral elegies that are to follow. Sometimes it achieves a remarkable directness of expression:

The sun denies the earth his light;

The spring is killed with winter's might;

The flowers spill,

The birds are still,

No voice of joy is heard in any place;

The meadows green

A change have seen,

And Flora hides her pale disfigured face.

One notable difference between England's Helicon and this miscellany is that the more specific details are touched on in

in description. At least we may suppose that more of outward nature has been creeping into poetry.

Then follows a series of sonnets, odes, elegies, madrigals and epigrams by Francis and Walter Davison. A Complaint by Francis Davison is written on the model of a sestina. But certainly more interesting is A Dialogue: In imitation of that between Horace and Lydia. It seems to be a very popular poem of Horace. There is one version of it by Jonson, and another by Herrick, But Francis Davison's version (at least the opening) seems to be best:

Lover

While thou didst love, and that neck of thine,
More sweet, white, soft than roses, silver, down,
Did wear a necklace of no arms but mine,
I envied not the king of Spain his crown.

Lady

While of thy heart I was sole sovereign,
And thou didst sing none but Melina's name,
Whom for brown Chloe thou dost now disdain
I envied not the Queen of England's fame.

There is ^{not} much either in the sonnets or in the madrigals. The madrigals are mostly translations from ~~Erotto~~ Groto and Guarini.

The second volume consists mainly of sonnets, odes and ~~elegies~~ elegies. Some of the sonnets and odes are by Walter Davison. The titles of his sonnets are sufficiently explanatory of their contents such as He calls his ears, eyes, and heart as witnesses of her sweet voice, beauty, and inward virtuous perfections. Praise of her eyes, excelling all comparison, Contention of love and reason for his heart, etc. ~~There~~ There are some ^{fourteen} ~~twelve~~ such sonnets. The rhyme-scheme is a b b a ~~ab~~ a b a b c d c d e e.

Of the two brothers Francis seems to be more poetically gifted. In Eclogue in the first volume we find poetic fancy, energy of expression, melody of verse, all combined with some power of delineating nature and skill in carrying on a metaphor

through the whole range of analogies. His Complaint (Ye ghastly groves, that hear my woeful cries) achieves a sombre beauty and dignity in its marvellous power of poetic expression. He may be much more dependent than Walter on ~~foreign authorities~~ foreign models, but in every line that he writes, he shows that he has the superior poetic gift - a flame and energy of expression which Walter lacks.

In the group of sonnets, written by Walter, he is not able to fuse his frigid concepts in the flame of poetic imagination. His sonnets are flat and wooden. He may have a facile gift of verse - but it does not achieve the rare perfection of poetry. ~~His~~ One of his odes - A Dialogue between Him and his Heart is a little better. Bullen praises it highly: "It is no puling love ditty, but a fervid expression of genuine emotion; and the metrical skill displayed is of no vulgar order." There does not seem to be anything very remarkable about the poem except the refrain which leaves a lingering echo behind:

Heart, let her go, for she'll not be converted.

A Deceit Say, shall she go?

Oh! no, no, no, no, no;

She is most fair, though she be marble-hearted.

There are several poems by A.W. in the second volume too. A.W. is an interesting figure. A.W. has been supposed to stand for 'anonymous writer;' but whether it stands for one or more than one anonymous writer is still an unsolved problem. The poems, at least a large number of them, signed A.W., are bound together by a remarkable unity of thought and style and it seems quite probable that they have been written by one individual. He has an astonishing range and variety - conventional love-poems, sonnets, madrigals, odes, decasyllables, octosyllables, hexameters, sapphics and Phalaciacs. His ~~lucidity of thought~~ purity of diction, his lucidity of thought, his ~~severe correctness~~ classical restraint, his intellectual coldness seem to anticipate Jonson. He has nothing of Italianate grace and fluidity. We may note a few of his poems in

in the second volume. One of them - Pain would I learn of thee,
^{attains}
 thou ~~murder~~ murdering eye ~~has~~ a simple and austere perfection of
 rhythm and emotion, despite its conventional phraseology. Some of
 his odes in this volume are written ~~in~~ in light and varied measures.
 We may compare Petition to him have her leave to die, To his heart
Disdain at Variance with Desire. There is one poem ~~in~~ - To Time:

Eternal Time, that wastest without waste,

Thou art and art not, diest and livest still;

Weighty in thought and reflection as it is, it moves to a solemn
 measure. We may contrast with it A Song in praise of a Beggar's life
 - perhaps the only poem written by A. W. in ~~exquisite~~ the light
 vein of Renaissance rapture:

Bright shines the sun, play, Beggars, play;

Here's craps enough to serve to-day.

What noise of viols is so sweet,

As when our merry clappers ring?

What mirth doth where beggars meet?

A Beggar's life is for a king,

Eat, drink, and play; sleep when we list,

Go where we will, so stocks be ~~mixt~~ mist.

Of his experiments in classical metres some are no doubt of
 interest. There is an epigram to Sidney in elegiac verse; the verses
 in hexameter are also connected with Sidney. Of the three ~~Phalae~~
Phaleuciads the first one is quite good:

Time nor place did I want, what held me tongue-tied ?

What charms, what magical abused altars?

Among "~~Divers~~ Divers Poems of Sundry Authors" there are again
 several sonnets, of which three are full of echoes of Sidney. These
 sonnets, ~~are signed~~ ^{are signed} ten in number, are signed I.D. (Sir John
 Davies?). He seems to have been much influenced by Sidney; like
 Sidney he sees in his mistress the rare combination of virtue and
 beauty; like Sidney he addresses her too as 'Saint.' On the whole
 his ~~sonnets~~ sonnets excel in wealth of imagery, in warmth and colour
 of expression.

There are several poems by Thomas Campion, but we shall

deal with him in the next chapter.

Among other poems there occurs Absence, hear thou my protestation so long ascribed to Donne, but as Professor Grierson points out, it ~~is~~ is probably by John Hoskins. It, however, shows a striking difference from the love-poems of other poets. No time-worn conceit of love is here, nor anything of conventional phraseology. It is just a touch of inwardness - a subtle analytical spirit which distinguishes the poem.

There are some sonnets again. Two of these sonnets by I.S. (Joshua Sylvester) are noteworthy. The first is Were I as base as is the lowly plain. There is at least one fresh, unused image in the poem:-

Were you the earth, dear love, and ~~th~~ I the skies,
My love should shine on you like to the sun,
And look upon ^{you} with ten thousand eyes
Till heaven waxed blind, and till the world were dim.

The second one - The poets feign when the world began rather seems to anticipate the wit of the metaphysical school. We quote a few lines below:-

In this division he the heart did sever,
But cunningly he did indent the heart,
That if there were a reuniting ever
Each part might which was his counterpart.

A few more poems by A.W. occur at the end. They are marked by weight and dignity of expression, grave melody, epigrammatic turn here and there - balance and antithesis.

As we have seen above, the contents of Davison's Poetical Rhapsody are of a varied interest. It is evident that the influence of Spenser and Sidney is still at work. We have noted that apart from poems which are about and on Sidney, there are some (those ascribed to Sir John Davies?) which are full of Sidneyan echoes. We can trace the influence of The Shepheardes Calender in the poems of ~~an~~ A.W. For example, his Eclogue, Entitled Cuddy seems to have been modelled on the January eclogue, or the eclogue written on the death of Sidney (which we have referred to above)

is reminiscent of the November eclogue.

There is another fact to be noted. This miscellany may possibly reflect the reaction of the Pleiade in France upon English poetry. In the first place the classical craze into which Gabriel Harvey dragged in Spenser and Sidney, and into which A.W. appears to have been caught either by his personal bias or sympathy, was but a passing phase of the Pleiade; and it appears that the English poets with the same problem of regenerating poetry before them as the French poets a generation earlier, believed for a time that they could improve matters by replacing rhyme and accent by ~~new~~ classical quantity. The "Areopagus" recalls the Academy, founded by Baif in Paris with a view to classicising French prosody. Secondly Anacreon was a discovery of the Pleiade, and when we find Greene, Thomas Spilman and A.W. translating the odes of Anacreon, we may believe that the Pleiade must have stimulated their efforts in this direction. More of this in a later chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

ELIZABETHAN SONG-BOOKS

The Elizabethan songs have been divided into two main classes - Madrigals and Airs. A madrigal may be defined as a piece of secular vocal unaccompanied music. "The true form," as F.A.Cox writes, "should consist of a series of conversational phrases, or of passages in imitation, one part answering another, and interwoven so as to form harmony. The whole should constitute one movement." An air may be generally described as a solo-song (accompanied with a lute) with several stanzas, for each of which the same music was repeated. The principle of the madrigal composition, as we have noted in a previous chapter, is polyphony - independent melodies to different parts and the general harmony depending on the skill in singing and adjustment of the voices. The constructive principle of the air is homophony. The musical terms, however, were loosely and inexactly used by the composers of the day; the term 'air' was often applied to ballets and all other kinds of light music (Morley's Plain and Easy Introduction). The fact is that the forms which the different terms denoted were indefinite - they were often mixed up and run together. The canzonet and other alternative terms generally designated the madrigalian type of composition. The ballet was composed to dance rhythms, and its distinguishing feature was, as Mr. Fellowes notes, "the introduction, at the end of each section, of a florid and rhythmical passage vocalised to the syllables Fa la la." The resulting difference in style and character of lyrics, yielded by the different types of song, is not very clearly marked; and so the lyrics themselves can be studied without any reference to the technique of the songs.

It is indeed surprising to discover so many pure gems of lyric among the musical compositions of the day. We may suppose three sources of supply - (1) lyrics written by the composers themselves; (2) lyrics drawn from the

existing mass of Elizabethan poetry; (3) lyrics written to request, as we might say, by the poets of the day. Some of the composers, for example, Campion and Dowland, were no mean poets. They wrote the words which they set to music. But even when the composers did not, like Campion and Dowland, possess any literary gift, as for example, Weelkes who almost confesses that he wrote none of the words that he set to music, they would draw upon the lyrics of living or dead authors, or they could ask the living poets of the day to lend a helping hand. We can imagine a kind of freemasonry binding together the poets and musicians of the day from what Barrett (English Glee and Madrigal Writers - two lectures read at the London Institution on Jan. 18 and Feb. 15, 1877) says: "How easy it is easy to picture John Wilbye welcoming to his dwelling in Austin Friars in the heart of the city of London, those of his friends who had come to try over some new and rare Italian or Flemish music, which one or other of them, himself a merchant, trading in "outlandish commodities," had brought or perhaps caused to be smuggled over and so evade the rights of the "assinges of Maister William Byrde." Perhaps, and the pursuance of the speculation is tempting, perhaps "Maister" Byrde himself was one of the company, which may have included young John Dowland the melancholy, and other famous men," who found out musical tunes, and recited verses in writing," as well as "rich men furnished with ability." Shakespeare himself, Sir Thomas Gresham, may have been listeners, perhaps performers for every gentleman in those days could take his part in singing at sight. We can also picture the cheery Sir Walter Raleigh as a member of the company, sitting in a far corner of the room, where he could enjoy "his pipe of Spanish" and not blow the smoke so as to incommode the singers, drinking in the sweet sounds which with the influence of the "filthy weed" may have carried his mind back to the scenes of beauty and luxury he had witnessed in far distant countries and excited him to regain the favour of his beloved queen, which he had probably just then lost by his marriage with ~~the~~ Mistress Throckmorton.....by a renewal of the attempt to add to the glory of the crown of

of England by fresh conquests or discoveries."

Another ^{fact} which we should not overlook is that the madrigal composers, if not all, at least some of them, were conscious ~~artist~~ artists, and they were not indifferent to the poetical quality of the words they used or adapted. At least we can suppose that they were careful to preserve, except in rare cases where they could not help sacrificing poetical rhythm to musical rhythm, the original accentuation and rhythm, when setting a lyric to music. Morley stresses this point in his Plain and Easy Introduction: "We must also have a care to applie the notes to the words, as in singing there be no barbarisme committed, that is, that we cause no syllable which is by nature short, be expressed by manie notes or one long note, nor one long syllable be expressed with a short note." As the result of this sedulous care the madrigal composers introduced a distinctly new feature into music, viz. the element of expressiveness - and it was carried still farther in the glees and airs. More and more attention came to be paid to words as individual units, and a ~~free~~ style of composition was adopted instead of fitting words of any description to the older and drier counterpoint.

It was at an opportune moment too that the madrigals began to be composed. In discussing the earlier lyrics we have shown how the musical rhythm was often the determinant factor in their composition. But as the lyric craft began to grow into maturity, this dependence of poetry upon music ceased, and the words themselves in a poem carried their own music. The madrigals began to be composed at this stage of the development of the lyric craft. Necesarily some of the madrigals and airs - quite a fair number, we must say, are as good poems as songs. At the same time we should not forget that the popularity of the madrigal music gave a new turn to the lyric. The character of the melody employed in a madrigal, however simple, was still a little formal and rigid; and it gave birth to a new type of lyrics, compact and close-knit, which have all the same a dainty grace, an airy lightness, a lilting rhythm, with which are combined playfulness of fancy and

tenderness of sentiment.

From Johnson's description of a madrigal as "a pastoral song - any light, airy short song," it has been assumed that the madrigal is pastoral in character and subject-matter, but this is not generally true. "Any light, airy short song" - that is a good enough description of a madrigal, but a madrigal can be grave and serious too. In fact the madrigal absorbed the themes of the different styles of poetry that had preceded it - courtly, pastoral, satirical, descriptive, etc. But it appears that the "amorous humour," to use the admirable phrase of Morley, is the keynote to a great majority of madrigal compositions. Perhaps Morley's words in his Plain and Easy Introduction are the best description of the general character of a madrigal: "If therefore you will compose in this kind(i.e. madrigal type), you must possess yourself with an amorous humour(for in no composition shall you prove admirable except you put on and possess yourself with that vein wherein you compose), so that you must in your music be wavering like the wind; sometimes wanton, sometimes grave and staid, at other times effeminate....."

The first set of madrigals, ~~proper~~ properly so called, to be published was by William Byrd under the title of Psalms, Sonnets and Songs of Sadness and Pietie in 1588. In the same year Nicholas Yonge published Musica Transalpina, a series of literal paraphrases from Italian madrigals, - evidently in answer to a demand for English words being set to the madrigal music, for we find as early as 1564 Italian madrigals being sung with the original Italian words. If anything, the publication of Musica Transalpina is an evidence of the growing popularity of the madrigal. To this William Byrd bears testimony in his dedication of the first set: "Having observed that since the publishing of my last labours in music, divers persons of honour and worship have more esteemed and delighted in the exercise of the art than before, it has greatly encouraged me to take further pains to gratify their courteous dispositions thereunto." The literary interest of Musica Transalpina is, however, slight; some of the examples are drawn from Luca Maranzia, one of the greatest Italian composers.

Most of the madrigals in Musica Transalpina deal with the courtly theme - love and its pain; similes and analogies from the classical source are pretty common; sometimes there are exquisite references to nature (e.g. in a madrigal by Alfonso Ferrabosco - I saw my lady weeping). The second part of Musica Transalpina was published in 1597. The contents reflect the pastoral vogue of the time. The typical example is So saith my fair and beautiful Lycoris.

William Byrd is said to have been the actual founder of the English madrigal school. His first set of Madrigals, as we have noted above, was published in 1588. He has a predilection for serious and moral themes. The madrigal, however, was destined to absorb more and more of the lightness and gaiety of the Renaissance. Byrd's composition shows very little trace of it. The first poem in this collection is Dyer's poem - My mind to me a kingdom is. He has another poem on the same ~~theme~~ theme - What pleasures have great princes. Perhaps the only poem in a lighter vein is Tho' Amaryllis dance in green. They were reprinted in England's Helicon. There is one poem by Thomas Deloney - Farewell, false love, the oracle of lies; there is another by the Earl of Oxford - If women would be fair, and never fond. But Byrd's characteristic style is represented in the poem -

In fields abroad, where trumpets shrill do sound;

Where glaives and shields do give and take rude knocks;

It is marked by dignity of expression and a certain measure of sonorousness.

His second set of madrigals under the title of Songs of Sundrie natures, some of gravitie and others of Mirth, was published in 1589. The note of mirth appears no doubt in one or two poems. A Dialogue between two Shepherds is quite delightful:

Who made thee, Hob, forsake the plough,

And fall in love?

Sweet beauty, which hath power to bow

The gods above.

It has the true madrigalian ring. This sweet and merry month of May comes also very close to the light madrigal type of verse.

Another noteworthy poem is the following short one:

Crowned with flowers I saw fair Amaryllis

By Thyrsis sit, hard by a fount of crystal;

And with her hand, more white than snow or lilies,

On sand she wrote, 'My faith shall be immortal';

And suddenly a storm of wind and weather

Blew all her faith and sand away together.

It is perhaps the only poem in which seriousness of thought is relieved by lightness of touch and gracefulness of fancy. His best poem in a serious vein in the second set is :

Retire, my soul, consider thine estate,

And justly sum thy lavish sin's account:

~~But~~ Thomas Watson published in 1590 Italian Madrigals Englished.

They include two madrigals by William Byrd. The contents of the volume are just of the nature of pioneer work like that of Musica Transalpina.

Thomas Morley who published in 1593 Canzonets, or Little Short Songs to Three Voices catches the characteristic note of the madrigalian verse. There are some wonderful lyric pieces among his compositions. The pastoral element is quite predominant, but the ornate diffusiveness of England's Helicon ^{is exchanged} for directness and simplicity of phrasing. Not rarely does the careless rapture of the Latin student lyrics of the earlier ages reappear in the simple and spontaneous melody of his expression. He has a remarkable variety too. A good many of the poems deal with the fanciful variations of the love-motive; some deal with the return of spring; others, with the joy and beauty of youth. One or two abound in pictorial details. Not a few are idyllic in theme and treatment. Several again are dance songs.

In the first set the poem - See, see, mine own sweet jewel,

What I have for my darling;

illustrates his characteristic manner and mood - pretty in fancy and idyllic in theme. Arise, get up, my dear; make haste, begone thee is a lovely picture of a country wedding. The rhyme-scheme of the

poem is simple, but the interlinking of long and short lines illustrates the different movements in the melody.

In 1594 appeared his Madrigals to Four Voices. In this volume there is at least one poem in the manner of Italianate ornateness - The fields abroad with spangled flowers are gilded. Some of the poems, generally descriptive, are purely objective; and the theme is often a fanciful variation of the pastoral motive. Here is an example - Within an arbour of sweet briar and roses. A spontaneous lyric expression, a wistful fancy, a light, bubbling melody - these are the characteristics of Morley's songs. ~~There~~ We may note here two dance-songs - Hark, jolly shepherds, hark yon lusty ringing and Ho! who comes here with bagpiping and drumming? It is the pastoral background again, but what life and motion does he put into the picture! The second poem is realistic ~~intensely~~ in its touches, describing as it does ~~xxMorrisdancesxx~~ the Morris dance. The idyllic note appears in one poem -

Say, gentle nymphs, that tread these mountains

Whilst sweetly you sit playing

Saw you my Daphne straying

Along your crystal fountains?

His Ballets to Five Voices appeared in 1595. Here we have ~~the~~ ~~lightest, gayest and most~~ a collection of the lightest, daintiest and most fanciful songs, and all of them are noted for exquisite simplicity of phrasing. The following is a good example:

Now is the month of Maying,

When merry lads are playing

Each with his bonny lass,

Upon the greeny grass.

Morley returns now and again to the favourite Renaissance theme as in the poem:

Sing we and chant it,

While love doth grant it,

Not long youth lasteth,

And old age hasteth;

Now is best leisure

To take our pleasure.

Here is a picture, wrought out in richness of fancy:

Six Voices Singing alone, sat my sweet Amarillis,
 The satyrs danced all with joy surprised;
 Was never yet such dainty sport devised.

The following opening lines of another poem -

What saith my dainty darling,
 Shall I now your love obtain? -
 seem to linger in the memory.

His Canzonets to Two Voices followed in 1595; Canzonets or Little Short Aers to Five and Six Voices, ~~in 1597~~ and Canzonets or Little Short Songs to Four Voices, Selected out of the Best and Approved Italian Masters - both in 1597; Madrigals to Five voices, Selected out of the Best Approved Italian Masters in 1598. They are not of much interest. There is one poem in the set of 1595 :

When, lo, by break of morning
 My love itself adorning

Doth walk the woods so dainty,
 Gathering sweet violets and cowslips plenty,
 The birds enamoured sing and praise my Flora:
 So, here a new Aurora.

In the set of 1597 - Canzonets to five and six voices occurs the following:

I follow, lo! the footing of my lovely cruel:
 Proud of herself, that she is beauty's jewel:

Alphand says, "This is one of Morley's masterpieces."

Morley published in 1601 The Triumphs of Oriana, modelled upon Trionfo di Dori, a collection of madrigals in praise of some Italian dame, published before the year 1597. Morley was evidently responsible for the conception of ^{the} series, written in honour of the Queen, and he got all the leading madrigalists to contribute to it. The theme offers little variety of treatment, and each madrigal is on the same refrain:

Then sang the Nymphs and Shepherds of Diana,
 Long live fair Oriana.

In 1597 Thomas Weelkes published Madrigals to Three, Four, Five, or Six Voices. As to the general character of his compositions we may say that the pastoral element is fairly represented - ~~they~~ there are frequent references to the country sport, the morris dance, and also to the proverbial contentment and peace of a shepherd's life. There are several purely descriptive poems, generally May-songs. The love-plaints are quite common. We may note one poem which is in a serious vein, but this does not represent the characteristic style of Weelkes; it begins thus:

Retire, my thoughts, unto your rest again;
Your proffer'd service may incur disdain.

His Ballets and Madrigals to Five voices, with One for Six Voices appeared in 1598. He sets the poem of Barnabe Barnes -

On the plains,
Fairy trians

Were a treading measures:

Another poem written in the ^{same} measure and equally light and gay is

In pride of May

The fields are gay;

The birds do sweetly sing:

So nature would

That all things should

With joy begin the spring.

We may note in these descriptive poems a stark simplicity of phrasing, and the careless rapture of the Carmina Burana. These poems are all about youth, springtime and love. Here is one poem which is full of pretty and exquisite fancy:

Now is my Cloris fresh as May,

All clad in green and flowers gay.

Oh! might I think August were near,

That harvest joy might soon appear. Then there is

that poem which appeared in the Passionate Pilgrim and which was long attributed to Shakespeare -

My flocks feed not,

My ewes breed not,

My rams speed not

All is amiss

He repeats the same ^hrythm in the following long poem, though varied by longer lines:

One seely cross

Wrought all my loss

We may particularly note these lines :

Clear wells spring not,

Sweet birds sing not,

Loud bells ring not

Cheerfully.

Herds stand weeping,

Flocks all sleeping,

Nymphs back creeping

Fearfully.

It may be observed as regards the nature of his description that against the static pastoral landscape are ~~painted~~ pictured the flocks, the merry jigs, the country lovers, the images of departing winter and returning spring, the revival of bud and blossom and the revival of joy in the human heart. Idyllic pictures of pastoral life are almost in every page; and there are a few of purely ~~descri~~ descriptive poems, which seem to have caught the very breath and fragrance of nature in the note of joy.

His Madrigals of Five and Six Parts appeared in 1600. There is one good descriptive poem -

Cold winter's ice is fled and gone.

In another there is an exquisite reference to the May festivity :

Why are you, ladies, staying,

And your lords gone a Maying?

In the same year appeared Madrigals of Six Parts and in 1608 Ayres or Phantastic Spirites for Three Voices. The joyous note - the call of spring occurs again and again. In the last poem there is one poem which has the burlesque note:

Ha ha! ha ha! this world doth pass

Most merrily, I'll be sworn;

For many an honest Indian ass

Goes for an unicorn

Talk not Farra diddle dino;

we may detect a This is idle fino. in earnestness of expression.

Next comes John Wilbye. Thomas Oliphant writes: "I feel no hesitation in calling John Wilbye the first of Madrigal writers. I except not even the great Luca Marenzio himself; for albeit there are six or seven hundred of his Madrigals extant, and only sixty-four by Wilbye, none of the former in my opinion can compare with Sweet honey-sucking bees, Flora gave me fairest flowers, Down in a valley; or Draw on, Sweet night." His work certainly exhibits greater artistic perfection and a wider range of emotion than that of Weelkes, but he has none of the impulsive melody of Weelkes, nor among his songs appears a pure nature poem like that of Weelkes. A tone of serious reflection characterises his composition as contrasted with the gaiety of Weelkes. He is no doubt a greater artist than Weelkes or any other madrigalist. Mr. Fellowes observes too that "the consummate style and finish of his work, together with the restraint with which he handled the more emotional subjects, impart a dignity to his greatest madrigals which sets them apart as the finest of their kind."

He published only two sets of madrigals - the first set in 1598 and the second in 1609. Adieu, Sweet Amaryllis is marked by tenderness of sentiment and fluency of grace. What needed all this travail and turmoiling is a close imitation of Spenser's ~~sonnet~~ sonnet - Ye tradeful merchants. Flora gave me fairest flower is perhaps the only poem in which he comes very near Weelkes' lightness of touch. Another poem in the second set has the lighter touch:

Love not me for comely grace,
For my pleasing eye or face;
Nor for any outward part
No, nor for my constant heart -

For those may fail, or turn to ill,
So thou and I shall sever.

In the poem -

Stay, Corydon, thou swain,

Black

Talk not so soon of dying
 we may detect a mocking tone veiled in earnestness of expression.
Sweet honey-sucking bees, why do ye still, Down in a valley as
Alexis trips, Draw on, sweet night, best friend ~~unto~~ unto those
cares represent best his characteristic style. They are remarkably
 rich in verbal felicities. In the second set there is another
 poem equally perfect in metrical rhythm, proportion and melody.
 We quote ~~it below~~ the first stanza below:

Ye that do live in pleasure's plenty,

And dwell in Music's sweetest airs,

Whose eyes are quick, whose ears are dainty,

Not clogged with earth or worldly cares.

Come sing this song made in Amphion's praise.

Who now is dead, yet you his fame can raise.

Michael Este and Thomas Bateson ~~xxxx~~ are not of much importance.
 Michael Este published his first set of Madrigals in 1604. Nicholas
 Breton's In the merry month of May was adapted by him. In the
 second set of madrigals, published in 1606, there is one good
 poem -

What doth my pretty darling?

What doth my song and chanting

That they sing not of her the praise and vaunting?

To her I give my violets,

And garlands sweetly swelling

For to crown her sweet locks, pure gold excelling.

In the fourth set of madrigals, published in 1619, there is one
 marriage song, quite gay and light -

Be nimble, quick, away!

Bells are ringing,

Maids are singing,

The priest for you doth stay.

Michael Este set also Sir Henry Wotton's famous poem - You meaner
beauties of the night.

There are one or two good lyrics in Bateson's two sets of madrigals - the first published in 1604 and the second in 1618.

Sister, awake, close not your eyes - that is a good beginning, and then in the second stanza there is just a descriptive touch but what a fresh image of dawn and how true to nature!:

Spring, and See the clear sun, the world's bright eye

are realistic. Un at our window peeping,

Lo, how he blusheth to espy

Us idle wenches sleeping.

Here is a song in a very light mood :

Merrily my love and I

Upon the plains were sporting;

Cheerfully the nymphs and fauns

The courtly Of times to us resorting.

But one remarkable feature is the note of realism, beginning to mark the attitude towards woman. We may compare two poems from Bateson- (1) My mistress after service due and (2) One woman scarce of ~~twenty~~ twenty. Cupid in a bed of roses is an adaptation of the famous Anacreontic ode.

We may take Orlando Gibbons and Francis Pilkington as two of the latest madrigalists, and they are important in ~~an~~ a way for we see that the madrigals are becoming more outspoken and realistic. Orlando Gibbons published his first set of madrigals in 1612. Nay, let me weep, though others' tears be spent is one of his best poems. He set one poem by Spenser - Fair ladies, that to love captived are, another by Walter Raleigh - What is our life? a play of passion, a third by Donne - Ah, dear heart, why do you rise? A poem on the transience of beauty is quite excellent - at least there is something fresh in the analogies employed -

Fair is the rose, yet fades with heat and cold.

As an evidence of reaction against courtly poetry the following is interesting -

O that the learned poets of the time,

The new Who in a love-sick line so well can speak;

may be Would not consume good wit in hateful rhyme

But, with deeper care some better subject seek
 For if their music please in earthly things,
 How would it sound, if strung with heav'nly strings.

Francis Pilkington published his first set of madrigals in 1613 and his second set in 1624. The messenger of the delightful spring and All in a cave a shepherd's lad met wanton Thestalis are realistic. There is one poem, dealing with the aubade motive -
 Wake, sleepy Thyrsis, wake to have been
 For love and Venus' sake.
 Come, let us mount the hills,
 Which ~~we~~ Zephyrus' cool breath fills;
 Or let us tread new alleys
 In yonder shady valleys.

The courtly theme is turned to ridicule in the following poem -

Ye bubbling springs that gentle music makes
 To lovers' plaints, with heart-sore throbs immixed
 Whenas my dear this way her pleasure takes,
 Tell her with tears how firm my love is fixed;
 And philomel report my timorous fears,
 And Echo sound my 'heigh-hos' in her ears;
 And if she ask if I for love will die,
 Tell her, indeed good faith, not I.

The next division of songs is represented by Airs. Among the airs we find more accomplished lyrics in all the perfection of verbal melody and sensuous imagery. The strain of realism and at the same time a note of "natural" voluptuousness are becoming more articulate. The motive of courtly love seems to be almost exhausted, and we see that the lyric is taking a new tone and colour. The beginning of the change we have noted in the latest of the madrigalists. It is carried on and developed by the writers of airs among whom we choose here only three as representative - Robert Jones, John Dowland and Thomas Campion. The new spirit is fully manifested in the work of Campion. It may be connected with the full cycle that the Renaissance has

now completed, and also with the study of Latin lyric and elegiac poetry which gave a new warmth and colour to the love-lyric; and the result is particularly seen in Campion's clearness of outline, reserve of expression and often a pensive grace as distinct from Italian fluidity and ornateness.

The characteristics of Robert Jones' songs are elegance of expression, lilting rhythm and tenderness of feeling. There are poems in the courtly strain. They evidently seem to have been written in obedience to the passing fashion of the day. But his real self is revealed in the mocking tone and frank realism with which he treats love and woman. Here is an example from the First Book of Airs(1601):

A woman's looks
Are barbed hooks
That catch by art
The strongest heart.

The poem is crisp and snappy with something of an epigrammatic touch. In the poem - Fond wanton youths make love a god he dwells on the misery of married life. If fathers knew how to leave strikes the note of revolt against woman-worship. Scepticism about the truth and sincerity of woman appears in the following(Second Book of Airs, 1601) :

When women grew true
Come teach me to sue,
Then I'll come to thee
Pray thee and woo thee
Little boy, pretty knave, make me not stagger,
For if you hit me, knave, I'll call thee beggar.

Other examples are Where lingering fear doth once possess the heart and When love on time and measure makes his ground, both from the First Book of Airs(1601); they are sometimes full of shrewd observations on woman - perhaps a heritage from earlier popular songs. In one poem - She whose matchless beauty staineth he returns to the courtly note, but the transience of beauty and Youth seems to be the leading motive. Reaction against the courtly

convention is clearly voiced in the poem - Since just disdain began to rise (Ultimum Vale, 1608); he seems to have a fling at the courtly poets too in the same poem -

Thine eyes, that some as stars esteem
From whence themselves, they say, take light,
Like to foolish fire I deem
That leads men to their death by night.

There is one pastoral song, dealing with the old theme of the mistress's indifference, but the touch of light, airy mockery makes it chiefly interesting :

This ~~poem~~ poem ~~is~~ Sweet Kate
Mockery (with which he ~~is~~ Of late
again exquisitely Ran away and left me plaining,
near the point of tears Abide!
Kisses' Garden of Delight (I cried)

How O I die with thy disdain
Since first Te hee, guoth she;
How can Make no fool of me;
Since Men, I know, have oaths at pleasure,
And yet, But, their hopes attained,
Whether her They bewray they feigned
And their oaths are kept at leisure.

Sometimes tenderness of sentiment (which he possesses in a remarkable degree) is combined with penetrating simplicity of expression. We may compare the following poem from the Musical Dream (1609) :

And is it night? are they thine eyes that shine?
Are we alone, and here? and here, alone?
May I come near, may I but touch thy shrine?
Is jealousy asleep, and is he gone?
O Gods, ~~now~~ no more! silence my lips with thine!
Lips, kisses, joys, hap, blessing most divine!

Here is a sense of embalmed darkness - the gentle approach of the lovers and the merging of each into the other. One of his most excellent poems is Farewell, dear love! since thou wilt needs be gone (First Book of Airs)

most exquisite is the lover's hesitation before he could say a final goodbye. We quote below the third stanza :

Ten thousand times farewell! yet stay awhile.

Sweet, kiss me once, sweet kisses time beguile,

- I have no power to move:

How now, am I in love! -

Wilt thou needs be gone?

Go then, all is one.

Wilt thou needs be gone? Oh hie thee!

Nay; stay, and do no more deny me.

This poem best illustrates Robert Jones - his light vein of mockery (with which he touches love-poems) and his tenderness, both again exquisitely blended. His tenderness of feeling comes very near the point of touching pathos in the following poem from the Muses' Garden of Delights (1610):

How many new years have grown old

Since first your servant old was new;

How many long hours have I told

Since first my love was vowed to you;

And yet, alas, she does not know

Whether her servant love or no.

John Dowland published his First Book of Songs or Aires in 1597.

About Dowland Bullen writes, "Modern critics have judged that

Dowland's music was somewhat ~~overestimated~~ overrated by his contemporaries, and that he is wanting in variety and originality.

Whether these critics are right or wrong, it would be difficult to overrate his poetry. In attempting to select representative lyrics one is embarrassed by the wealth of material. The rich clusters of golden verse hang so temptingly that it is difficult to cease plucking when once we have begun." Dowland seems to have caught the finest breath and spirit of the Renaissance in his poetry. Here is a dainty piece :

Come again!

Sweet love doth now invite,

It seems to be a sort of prolonged monody - a strain that croons out and out softly and gently the sorrow of the heart, as if it will never stop. The following poem is full of Renaissance voluptuousness and lyric rapture:

Come away, come, sweet love! The golden morning breaks;
All the earth, all the air of love and pleasure speaks.

Teach thine arms then to embrace,

Pleasure And sweet

When Rosy

Her Lips to kiss,

And mix our souls in mutual bliss;

Eyes were made for beauty's grace,

Viewing

Rueing

Love-long pain

Procured by beauty's rude disdain.

The beauty of the poem -

Dear, if you change, I'll never choose again;

Sweet, if you shrink, I'll never think of love;

depends on a sort of balance in rhythm and melody. The theme does not matter much to Dowland. It is love over and over again. His chief aim seems to be to ring as ~~many~~ many musical variations on it as ~~xx~~ possible.

The Second Book of Songs and Airs was published in 1600. I saw my lady weep is exquisite in fancy. The following poem is marked by weightiness of thought and felicity of expression:

Now cease, my wandering eyes,

Strange beauties to admire,

In change least comfort lies;

Long joys yield long desire -

One faith, one love,

Makes our frail pleasures eternal and in sweetness

prove

New hopes, new joys,

Are still with sorrow declining

Unto deep annoys.

In this book occurs the famous pedler song -

Fine knacks for ladies! cheap, choice, brave, and new.

In the following poem the similes are borrowed direct from nature and their freshness and beauty are unsurpassable:

Clear or cloudy, sweet as April showering,
Smooth or frowning, so is her face to me,
Pleased or smiling like mild May all flowering,
When skies blue silk and meadows carpets be,
Her speeches, notes of that night bird that singeth,
Who, though all sweet yet jarring, notes outringeth.

The Third and Last Book of Songs or Airs was published in 1603. In this book there is one exquisite poem which seems to come near the consummate art of Shakespeare in eternising the frail beauty of woman in immortal verse -

Time stands still with gazing on her face;
Stand still and gaze for minutes, hours, and years, to
give her place.

All other things shall change, but she remains the

(Strained out of art by nature, same, in case.)
Till Heavens changed have their course, and Time

hath lost his name.

Some of the songs in the third book are written in the happiest moment of inspiration. By a fountain where I lay is full of the rapturous note. The second stanza of the poem - Weep you no more, sad fountains is perfect in verbal melody :

Sleep is a reconciling,

A rest that peace begets:

Doth not the sun rise smiling,

When fair at even he sets?

Rest you then, rest, sad eyes,

Melt not in weeping,

While she lies sleeping,

Sleeping, softly, softly,

Now softly lies

Sleeping.

Here is a direct challenge to Platonism :

this
Fie on ~~the~~/feigning!

Is love without desire,

Heat still remaining,

And yet no sparks of fire?

Thou art untrue, nor wert with fancy moved,

For desire hath power on all that ever loved.

But let all lovers, rich in triumph, come

Thomas Campion's work shows what a poet with an extremely sensitive ear, a happy gift of phrasing, an artistic insight and a plastic imagination, could accomplish. He holds the foremost rank among the Elizabethan song-writers, but the marvellous group of lyrics that he has left behind, marks him out as a supreme lyric poet of great range and variety. He is distinguished above all by skill in a musical combination of sounds. He plays in fact on the whole gamut of sounds with the unerring sense and consummate ease of a master. The best tribute has been paid to him by John Davies of Hereford:

Never did Lyrics' more than happy strains

(Strained out of Art by nature, so with ease,)

So purely hit the moods and various veins

Of Music and her hearers as do these.

We are particularly interested in studying the latest phase of the Renaissance in Campion. He was a student of the Latin lyric. His first publication was a volume of Latin epigrams in 1595. We can trace through his work the change that came over the lyric. He is an interesting link between the Elizabethans and Jacobeans. Of course the echoes of courtly and pastoral poetry are in him. but the more important feature is the rise of a rationalistic spirit, often accompanied by sensuality and cynicism - which we may connect with the latest phase of the Renaissance.

~~The First~~ A Book of Aires by P. Rosseter and Thomas Campion was published in 1601. We may first note his ~~render~~ rendering of Catullus's Vivamus, mea Lesbia - My sweetest Lesbia! Let us live and love! It seems to be even better than the original, and it expresses so exquisitely the characteristic mood of Campion.

It may be regarded as one of the best poems of the Elizabethan age for tenderness of reflection, resonance of melody and penetrating wistfulness of the poet's gaze averted from the world of death. The last stanza expresses the quintessence of the Renaissance :

When timely death my life and fortune ends,
 Let not my hearse be vexed with mourning friends;
 But let all lovers, rich in triumph, come
 And with sweet pastimes grace my happy tomb:
 And, Lesbia, close up thou my little light,
 And crown with love my ever-during night.

The pastoral motive is touched to a finer issue in the following poem :

I care not for these ladies that must be wooed
 and prayed;
 Give me kind Amaryllis, the wanton country maid.

In an equally light vein is written Turn back, you wanton flier. In the second stanza of the poem is an epigrammatic compression of thought:

What harvest half so sweet is
 As still to reap the kisses
 Grown ripe in sowing?
 And straight to be receiver
 Of that, which thou art giver,
 Rich in bestowing?

We may note in this connection that Campion often achieves the full effect of his harmony by the accumulation of liquid sounds; for example, we may compare such a line from the above poem:

Each others's arms with arms enchaining

or

Rosy lips, with a kiss still entertaining.

He generally avoids guttural sounds, but whenever they occur in a line, they are more than balanced by palatal sounds.

We may compare the beginning of another poem:

The cypress curtain of the night is spread
 And over all, a silent dew is cast.

Follow your saint! is an exquisite variation of, and refinement upon the troubadour motive of love. The whole poem is worth quoting:

Follow your saint, follow with accents sweet!

Haste you, sad notes, fall at her flying feet!

There, wrapt in cloud of sorrow, pity move,

And tell the ravisher of my soul I perish for her love:

But if she scorns my never-ceasing pain,

Then burst with sighing in her sight, and n'er return again!

All that I sung still to her praise did tend;

Still she was first; still she my songs did end;

Yet she my love and music both doth fly,

The music that her echo is and beauty's sympathy;

Then let my notes pursue her scornful flight!

It shall suffice that they were breathed and died for her
delight.

The clear Latin ring is here. When thou must home to shades of

underground is a poem that has been praised by Bullen for

"strange richness of romantic beauty." There is an example of

Sapphic in the book : Come, let us sound with melody, the praise.

Shall I come, if I swim illustrates skilled use of the anapaestic

measure. But his favourite measure seems to be trochaic catalectic

as in the following:

Whether men do laugh or weep.

A keen sense of the irony of life enters into the above poem; we may compare the second stanza:

All our pride is but a jest;

None are worst and none are best;

Grief and joy, and hope and fear,

Play their pageants everywhere:

Vain opinion all doth sway,

And the world is but a play.

Campion is often fond of balanced, antithetical and epigrammatic expressions. Here is an example:

Kind in unkindness, when will you relent

And cease with faint love, true love to torment?

Two Books of Airs - Divine and Moral Songs and Light Conceits of Lovers were published about 1613. Campion states the secret of his composition in the following lines: "In these English Airs, I have chiefly aimed to couple my words and notes lovingly together, which will be much for him to do, that hath not power over both. The light of this, will best appear to him who hath payased(weighed) our Monosyllables and Syllables combined: both of which are so loaded with consonants, as that they will hardly keep company with swift notes, or give the vowel convenient liberty."

In the serious poems, written by Campion, there is a light touch as well, distinguishing them from the ~~heavy~~ dull, oppressive moral and religious poems of the earlier ages. That preoccupation with the life to come is now gone. The Renaissance has done one great service to poetry by directing the human mind to the joys of earthly life, so long neglected and despised. Of the earth, earthy - that alone can give substance to poetry. And poetry had been too long fed upon abstractions and illusions of heavenly life, and all that is to come.

One of the loveliest songs in the first book is :

Out of my soul's depth, to thee! my cries have sounded.
Another song which has been praised by Bullen for spiritual fervour is:

Awake, awake, thou heavy sprite
Thou sleep'st the deadly sleep of sin.

In one poem Campion writes :

Concord pleaseth more, the less 'tis strained.

We may take this line to be the motto of his composition. His poems are not exactly strains of unpremeditated art, because there is much of premeditated art in them, but strains of pure & creative joy, unlaboured and free in movement. The liquid melody of these poems is the result of conscious art, but Campion knows how to conceal art in an appearance of spontaneity.

The first two stanzas of the poem - As by the streams of Babylon are exquisitely beautiful. There is ^a touch of pensive

grace. Then there occurs the sweet pastoral -

Jack and Joan, they think no ill

But loving live, and merry still.

In the second book (Light Conceits of Lovers) Renaissance voluptuousness and a cynical note appears in several poems. We may compare : I cannot call her true that's false to me

Nor make of woman more than woman be

Or

Come, you pretty false-eyed wanton,

Leave your craft, smiling!

He seems to have no illusions about woman. Yet he would sometimes write in the courtly strain, for example, Her rosy cheeks, her ever-smiling eyes. Sometimes his graceful fancy expresses itself with tender felicity as in the following:

Where she, her sacred bower adorns,

The rivers clearly flow;

The groves and meadows swell with flowers,

The winds all gently blow.

Her sun-like beauty shines so fair;

Her spring can never fade

Who then can blame the life that strives

To harbour in her shade.

We may note too here that instead of Italian florid diffuseness, it is marked by a classic clarity of outline. There is one nature-poem in which Campion weaves mythological allusions :

The peaceful western wind

The winter storms hath tamed,

And Nature, in each kind,

The kind heat hath inflamed:

The forward buds so sweetly breathe

Out of their earthy bowers,

That heaven, which views their pomp beneath,

Would fain be decked with flowers.

There is one very curious poem, rather startling in frank sensuality and realism:

A secret love or two I must confess

I kindly welcome for change in close playing,
 Yet my dear husband I love ne'ertheless,
 His desires, whole or half, quickly allaying,
 At all times ready ~~to~~ to offer redress;
 His own he never wants but hath it duly,
 Yet twits me I keep not touch with him truly.

The Third and Fourth Books of Airs were published about 1613 and
 Now winter nights enlarge is a delicious picture of the genial
 fireside with the cups of wine going round and music playing. There
 is the characteristic touch in the last few lines of the poem-

The summer hath his joys
 And winter his delights;
 Though love and all his pleasures are but toys,
 They shorten tedious nights.

~~The courtly sentiment of love is in the following, but what~~
~~dignity and self-restraint.~~ In the poem - Be thou then my Beauty
named there is the courtly sentiment of love, but what a dignity
 and self-restraint! We may quote the second stanza-

But if lofty titles move thee,
 Challenge then a sovereign's place;
 Say I honour when I love thee,
 Let me call thy kindness grace:
 State and love things diverse be,
 Yet will we teach them to agree.

The last stanza is equally good or even better :

Or if this be not sufficing,
 Be thou styled my Goddess then:
 I will love thee, sacrificing;
 In thine honour hymns I'll pen;
 To be thine, what canst thou more?
 I'll love thee, serve thee, and adore.

There are two more poems, as delicately phrased and idealised in
 mood, but with a ~~far-off~~ ^{far off} strange music and a sense of wistful
 irony:

Shall I come, sweet love, to thee,

Now the evening beams ~~not~~ be set?

Shall I not refused be,

Wilt thou find no feigned let?

Let me not for pity any more

Tell the long hours at thy door.

The melody of these lines with its lingering echoes is unanalysable from ~~the~~ the next poem - If thou longest so much to learn, sweet boy, we quote two stanzas, more rapturous and daintier in fancy:

With thee dance I will, and sing, and thy fond dalliance
bear;

We the grovy hills will climb and play the wanton there;
Other whiles we'll gather flowers,
Lying dallying on the grass;
And thus our delightful hours
Full of waking dreams, shall pass.

When thy joys were then at height, my love should turn from
thee,
Old acquaintance then should grow as strange, as strange
might be;

Twenty rivals thou shouldst find,
Breaking all their hearts for me,
While to all I'll prove more kind
And more forward than to thee.

We must say a word about the metrical interest of Campion's poems. He published in 1602 Observations in the Art of English Poesy in which he advocated the disuse of rhyme. Samuel wrote a reply to it in 1603 - Defence of Rhyme, and took care to congratulate Campion on his not being an enemy to the use of rhyme as he professed to be. Fortunately indeed Campion ~~did~~ did not follow his theory in practice. There are some experiments of his in classical ^{metre} verse (we have noted one above), and they are not altogether bad, for the music saves them from bathetic cacophany. But we cannot deny that ~~his~~ his theory left his practice in English verse unaffected. He does not often care to adhere to a standard

metrical pattern throughout a poem - what we seem to miss is the basic rhythm of ~~xxx~~ the poem. He rings on changes, full of musical suggestions; and the result is not the same rhythm and cadence from line to line, but ^{one} ever shifting and variable. He would change from ~~iamb~~ iamb to trochee, from trochee to iamb, from double rhyme to single rhyme, all in the same poem. His ~~musical~~ musical ear is a safe guide to him, and there is not a single false or jarring note - the liquid flow of his melody carries it all off smoothly. We may take as a typical instance Follow your saint, follow with accents sweet.

CHAPTER XV

FRENCH INFLUENCE - LA PLEIADÉ

The regeneration of letters in France, started by the Pleiade group, owes its original impulse to the Renaissance. The Renaissance stirred and quickened the imagination and sensibilities which had long lain/under the obsession of earthly sin and suffering in hell, and awakened an ardent desire to explore the deep and mysterious movements of human thought and mind. It created a sense of joy in living, a love of beauty and a lively interest in nature.

Italy was the first home of the Renaissance. And the Pleiade group must have been interested in the literary activities of Italy, and none too soon set about their own work. Of course in England the Renaissance was rather belated, for we find that in the first quarter of the sixteenth century when Italy and France had made Renaissance their own, its faint glow but touched Tudor poetry. Wyatt and Surrey leave no successor behind to carry on the advance they pioneer; still, as we have shown, it is possible to trace the rising spirit of the Renaissance through the Elizabethan Miscellanies. There was, however, no genuine poetic revival in England until 1579 when Spenser and Sidney appeared on the scene; and it was not until then that the result of the absorption of the spirit and impulse of the Renaissance was shown in the character of the poetry produced.

England's Helicon represents the effect of Italian influence in English poetry. It is true that Spenser and Sidney sponsor Italian influence. But can we not discover any trace of French influence in England's Helicon? There is Lodge, one of the contributors to England's Helicon. He seems to have more of the dainty grace, of the blitheness and gaiety, of the trilling melody of the French poets of the Pleiade than of Italianate richness and fluidity. Then there are Peele and Greene. In both there are echoes of French rhythm and French gaiety. But Spenser himself was attracted by the French Renaissance. Marot's eclogues, as one critic suggests, might have inspired his Shepherd's Calendar.

Marot does not certainly belong to the Pleiade group. The Pleiade comes after Marot. But Marot, inspite of his loyalty to the mediaeval tradition, does partly anticipate the later movement of the Pleiade. At any rate he drank deep the spirit of the Renaissance.

The chief aim of the Pleiade, as we have noted above, was the regeneration of letters. The poets who were grouped under the appellation, were Pierre de Ronsard, Joachim du Bellay, Remy Belleau, Jean Antoine de Baif, Etienne Jodelle, Pontus de Tyard and Jean Dorat.

In the first place they recognised the dignity and capability of their native language. They felt that it needed only cultivation on the right lines, that it needed enrichment from foreign languages. They were attracted, on the one hand, by the perfection and restraint of the Greek literary art, and on the other, by the sensuousness of modern Italian poetry. But the genius of Horace and Ovid was more akin to their spirit and temperament, and fully steeped as they were in Horace and Ovid, we find that in their love lyrics there is a strand of light-hearted materialism, crossed by an airy mockery. But more of this later.

Now to follow the creed and practice of the Pleiade. Joachim du Bellay issued a manifesto in 1549 - La Deffense et Illustration de la langue françoise. Its avowed object was the enrichment of the native language, and the necessity of studying and assimilating the graces of Italian, Latin and Greek was urged as the means of doing it. The old poetical forms as ballades, rondeaus, virelays and chansons were rejected in favour of odes, sonnets, elegies and lyrical stanzas of infinite variety in combination of shorter and longer lines.

Pindar became their idol for a time. At first they reproduced, however they might have understood it imperfectly, with punctilious exactness, every feature of Pindarism, but they soon exchanged the elaborate structure of the Pindaric ode with its

strophe, antistrophe and epode for the simpler scheme of the Horatian ode. In Davison's Poetical Rhapsody we noted the predominance of poems in the form of ode on an elaborate rhyme-scheme and it is presumable that they might have something to do with the experiments of the Pleiade in the same form of verse.

Then the discovery of Anacreon by Henry Etienne in 1554 led to the creation of the Anacreontic cult. French poetry was full of the echoes and imitations of Anacreon, resulting in a luscious epicureanism of Cupids, roses and wine. Love, youth, beauty, spring, flowers - all enter as ingredients into this kind of poetry; and they are touched by a tender pathos (associated with the evanescence of beauty and youth) and irradiated by a prismatic fancy. In several of the Elizabethan songs we touch almost on the same theme - songs that express the same eager, feverish longing for the fleeting joys of life, that lament half regretfully and half playfully the passing away of beauty and youth, that toy with the flowers and weave pretty fancies about the beauty of the mistress.

Next a romantic feeling for nature - which has been a gift of the Renaissance, finds adequate expression in the poetry of the Pleiade. Their observation of nature might discover no subtlety or mystery in it - nothing that speaks of things other than as they appear. They have only an eye for the form and colour of things and that again does not go deep enough. They rather prefer to look at nature through the haze of literary associations; yet sometimes there are intimate touches of insight. They dwell rather too often on spring and flowers. And even if their addresses to flowers are often purely objective, they are in a rapturous strain - and point to the absorption of the poet's self in the thing he describes, not unlike the effect that a later English poet describes - "annihilating all that's made to a green thought in a green shade." Following evidently the suggestion of the Pleiade, Spenser is the first to pay a glowing tribute to flowers in his April Eclogue.

Descriptions of flowers on similar lines, as we have noted, occur in England's Helicon. They were directly inspired by Spenser rather than by the Pleiade, but there can be no mistake about the original source.

The craze for classical metres is another, but less interesting aspect of the Pleiade. Fortunately it was a passing phase, nor was it taken up by all the members of the Pleiade. Baif was the great enthusiast for classical metres. As Sidney Lee points out, "Baif argued that musical accompaniment was the needful complement of vers mesures, which ought to be sung, and not spoken. To prove his allegation to be practicable, he founded in Paris, with royal sanction, and under the auspices of the University of Paris, an academy in which unrhymed quantitative verse should be fitted by musical composers with appropriate musical notations. The professed aim was 'de renouveler l'ancienne facon de composer des vers mesures pour y accommoder le chant pareillement mesure selon l'art metrique.' The effort made no real advance." We have its repercussion in the "Areopagus," a sort of rhyming club, founded by Gabriel Harvey, the champion of classical metres, and we have its dying echoes as late in Campion's theory of no rhyme for English verse.

We have just shown the diffusive nature of French influence in the Elizabethan lyric. Specific instances of sentiment, imagery and metre in which it is traceable, would certainly add strength to the argument. We should better reserve the question of metre for the final section of the chapter. We have already indicated the nature of the sentiment that was imported into the Elizabethan lyric under Anacreontism. It needs only illustrations. The English feeling for nature perhaps owes little to the Pleiade. In the attempts at descriptions of nature in England's Helicon Davison's Poetical Rhapsody Italian pastoralism seems to have been grafted on the native tradition. A passing reference to the Pleiade feeling for nature will illustrate the difference.

First to study the expression of the Anacreontic sentiment. We shall take one or two examples from Ronsard. The motive of

'Gather ye rosebuds,' repeatedly occurs in Ronsard. We may compare Ode XVII, addressed to Cassandra: *Passie Queen, Book II, canto xlii.*

Mignonne, allons voir si la rose

Qui ce matin avoit desclose

Sa robe de pourpre au soleil

A point perdu ceste vesprée

Les plis de sa robe pourprée

Et son tient au vostre pareil.

The appeal of the last stanza is noteworthy:

Donc, si vous me croyez, mignonne,

Tandis que vostre âge fleuronne

En sa plus verte nouveauté,

Cueillez, cueillez vostre jeunesse:

Comme à ceste fleur, la vieillesse

Fera ternir vostre beauté.

The same thought is more poignantly expressed in Sonnet XLII (Le Second Livre des Sonnets pour Helene):

Quand vous serez bien vieille, au soir, à la chandelle,

Assise auprès du feu, devisant et filant,

Direz, chantant mes vers, et vous esmerveillant;

Ronsard me celebrait du temps que j'estois belle.

And then the last lines:

Vivez, si m'en croyez, n'attendez à demain;

Cueillez dès aujourd'hui les roses de la vie.

Jean Passerat strikes a more wistful note in the expression of the same sentiment in his Ode du Premier Jour de Mai. We quote the last stanza:

Laissons ce regret et ce pleur

A la vieillesse;

Jeunes, il faut cueillir la fleur

De la jeunesse.

Or que le ciel est le plus gay

En ce gracieux mois de May,

Aimons, mignonne;

Contentons nostre ardent désir:

Qui ne s'en donne.

It is interesting to note that Spenser is the first among English poets to express similar sentiment in The Faerie Queen, Book II, canto xii.

The whiles some one did chant this lovely lay -

Ah, see, who so fair thing dost fain to see,

In springing flower the image of thy day;

Ah, see the virgin rose, how sweetly she

Doth first peep forth with bashful modesty,

That fairer seems, the less ye see her may;

Lo, see, soon after, how more bold and free

Her bared bosom she doth broad display;

Lo, see, soon after, how she fades and falls away.

So passeth, in the passing of a day,

Of mortal life, the leaf, the bud, the flower,

Ne more doth flourish after first decay,

That erst was sought to deck both bed and bower

Of many a lady, and many a paramour:

Gather therefore the rose whilst yet is prime,

For soon comes age that will her pride deflower:

Gather the rose of love whilst yet is time,

Whilst loving thou may'st loved be with equal crime.

We cannot certainly connect it with Ronsard. Here Spenser directly translates from Tasso. Tasso might have got the idea from Ausonius:

Collige, virgo, rosas, dum flos novus, et nova pubes,

Et memor esto aevum sic properare tuum.

We have noted above the popularity of the Anacreontic fable of Cupid and the bee. Sidney Lee points out that six French renderings of the theme were published in France before 1573, the most graceful by Ronsard. Spenser seems to have been attracted by it, and amplifies it in an 'epigram.' We have noted Lodge's adaptation of the same theme under the title of The Barginet of Antimachus in England's Helicon. It occurs again in the second set of madrigals by Thomas Bateson:

Cupid, in a bed of roses

Sleeping, chanced to be stung
 Of a bee that lay among
 The flowers where he himself reposes.

Sidney Lee observes that Lyly was the earliest and most original of English workers in Anacreontics. We may mention one notable example - Cupid and Campaspe in which his decorative fancy works on, and transmutes an essentially Anacreontic theme. It is, in a sense, illustrative of the manner in which English poets dealt with borrowed material. Lyly's songs at any rate are steeped in those classical allusions which seem to have been popularised by Anacreon. But he seems to have caught the real note of Anacreon in his bacchanalian songs.

We have shown in a previous chapter that the epicureanism of an Anacreontic character appears pretty frequently in the Elizabethan songs. It is, however, difficult to say whether they were directly influenced by the Pleiade. They are noted for the same dainty grace, the same lilting melody, the same rapturous note of welcome to spring and the joys of youth. We have pointed out too that they are farthest removed from Italianate diffuseness and liquid melody. We quote below one or two examples which seem to be distinct echoes of the Anacreontic sentiment:

Thomas Morley - First Book of Ballets(1592)

Sing we and chant it
 While love doth grant it,
 Not long youth lasteth,
 And old age hasteth.
 Now is best leisure
 To take our pleasure.

John Wilbye - First Set(1598)

Thou art but young, thou say'st,
 And love's delight thou weigh'st not.
 O take time while thou may'st,
 Lest when thou would'st, thou may'st not.

As we have shown in a previous chapter, a frank natural voluptuousness, the pagan rapture, the pagan cry for the

fleeting joys of life - the definite Pleiade themes as they are, are nowhere better expressed than in the Elizabethan songs. At least they have the nearest approach to the blitheness and gaiety of the poetry of the Pleiade.

Among the poets of the Pleiade Remy Belleau is known to be the best of nature-painters. Ronsard does not seem to possess an intimate acquaintance with nature. He shows rather an amateurish interest in nature; he affects "the woods and the Seine" in the neighbourhood of Meudon and "the rivulet of Bievre and its fountains." One critic writes that his nature phraseology is often of Italian inspiration. Ronsard's descriptions of nature seldom rise above the conventional. We can compare his A la Fontaine Bellerie:

O fontaine Bellerie!
 Belle déesse chérie
 De nos nymphes, quand ton eau
 Les cache au fond de ta source,
 Fuyantes le satyreau
 Qui les pourchasse à la course
 Jusqu'au bord de ton ruisseau.

The first stanza that we quote fairly represents his characteristic style. It is clothed in Greek imagery and sentiment. There is nothing distinctive or individual about it. His ode XXI -

Bel aubespín verdissant,
 Fleurissant,
 Le long de ce beau rivage,
 Tu est vestu jusqu'au bas
 Des longs bras
 D'une lambrunche sauvage,

is something better - at least fresh in observation; yet the sentiment and imagery derive from the Virgilian tradition. Remy Belleau has a more genuine touch and greater sincerity of feeling. We may compare his Avril. Cary writes, "If we compare it with Spenser's song in the Shepherd's Calendar, April, we shall find some slight resemblance in the measure, which would induce one to imagine that Colin, though he calls it a lay,

Which once he made as by a spring he lay,

And tuned it unto the water's fall,

had yet some snatches of this melody floating in his ear, which mingled themselves with the wilder music." In a more impassioned strain is Bellay's D'un Vanneur de Ble aux Vents:

A vous, troppe légère,

Qui d'aele passagère

Par le monde volez,

Et d'un sifflant murmure

L'ombrageuse verdure

Doucement esbranlez.

Now we may notice the character of nature-description in the Elizabethan lyric. As we have said, it owes little to French. We pointed out above that in England's Helicon there are conventionalised touches of description, as conditioned by the pastoral tradition, and that yet now and then there appears an open-air delight in the phenomena of nature. We pointed out also that in Davison's Poetical Rhapsody specific details of the landscape came to be attended to. The nature-sense in the Elizabethan poets is more or less associated with the pastoral creed; yet through the pastoral imagery are revealed glimpses of an essentially English landscape. It might have after all nothing to do with the Pleiade feeling for nature. In the poets of the Pleiade there is a revelry in, and intoxication with, the flowers of spring. We have noted one or two examples of glorification of flowers in the Elizabethan Miscellanies; in the Elizabethan songs it is sometimes touched with greater tenderness and gracefulness of fancy. The English poets have certainly a more vital nature-sense. We may compare the nature-poems of Thomas Weelkes. Objective as they are, they are rooted in a passionate grip of the earth. We noted the same characteristic in connection with the Middle English Lyric.

The Pleiade influence of a stray and fugitive character can be traced here and there. Sidney Lee points out that Drayton's To Himself and the Harp echoes Ronsard's A sa lyre. His ode To the New Year may very likely have been inspired by Du Bellay's Du

Premier Jour de l'an. Sometimes a French refrain is used in an Elizabethan lyric. We may mention here two examples from Greene:

Infida's Song

Sweet adon, dar'st not glance thine eye -

N'oserez vous, mon bel ami?

Upon thy Venus that must die?

Je vous en prie, pity me;

N'oserez vous, mon bel, mon bel,

N'oserez vous, mon bel ami?

Mulidor's Madrigal

Dildido, dildido,

O love, O love,

I feel thy rage rumble below and above!

In summer time I saw a face,

Trop belle pour moi, hélas, hélas!

Like to a stond horse was her space:

Was ever young man so dismayed?

Her eyes, like wax torches, did make me afraid:

Trop belle pour moi, voila mon trepas.

By the way, Greene adapted the third ode of Anacreon - Love's Night Walk, evidently the source being French:

Cupid abroad was lated in the night,

His wings were wet with ranging in the rain;

Harbour he sought, to me he took his flight,

To dry his plumes: I heard the boy complain;

I oped the door, and granted his desire,

I rose myself, and made the wag a fire.

We quote below the opening lines of one song from Thomas Morley's First Book of Ballets:

I saw my lovely Phyllis

Laid on a bank of lilies -

they distinctly echo the beginning of Vauquelin's poem:

Entre les fleurs, entre les lis,

Doucement dormoit ma Philis.

We may note in this connection an essentially Renaissance theme - the boast of poetic immortality which is voiced in Elizabethan sonnets. Sidney Lee connects it with the Pleiade. He writes, "The note was of classical strain, but the English writers echoed it in a distinctly French key." Whether Sidney Lee's contention is true or not, can be seen by comparing examples both from French and English poets. We quote one or two examples from Ronsard:

Le Second Livre des Sonnets pour Helene

II

Elle vit longuement en sa ~~jeune~~ jeune verdure;
Long ~~long~~ temps après la mort je vous feray revivre,
Tant peut le dôte soin d'un gentil serviteur,
qui veut en vous servant toutes vertus ensuivre.
Vous vivrez et croistrez comme Laur en grandeur,
Au moins tant que vivront les plumes et le livre.

We may compare the following from the last sonnet of the first part of Amours de Marie as an example of what we may describe as splendid Renaissance pride:

Quelqu'un après mil ans, de mes vers estonné,
Voudra dedans mon Loir comme en Permesse boire,
Et, voyant mon pays, à peine voudra croire
Que d'un si petit champ tel poete soit né.

Or the following from Ode IV (Le
quatriesme Livre des Odes de L'election de son
Sepulchre)

La viendront chaque année
A ma feste ordonnée,
Avecques leurs troupeaux,
Les pastoureaux;

Puis, ayant fait l'office

De leurs beau sacrifice,

Parlant à l'isle ainsi,

Dirant ceci:

"Que tu es renommée

D'estre tombeau nommée

poets sometimes D'un de qui l'univers in his individual way.

Perhaps this spleen Chante les vers, while possessing a unique and

As we see here, this Renaissance pride takes either of the forms - the poet promises immortality to his mistress or patron whom he celebrates in his verse, or looks forward to such immortality for himself.

Let us now see how the English poets deal with the same theme: Spenser writes in one of his sonnets -

My verse your virtues rare shall eternize,

And in the heavens write your glorious name;

Where, whenas Death shall all the world subdue,

Our love shall live, and later life renew.

Other Elizabethan sonneteers write more or less in the same strain. We may compare a few:

Daniel writes - (Sonnet XXXVIII)

Thou canst not die, whilst any zeal abound

In feeling hearts, that can conceive these lines;

Though thou, a Laura, hast no Petrarch found

Constable writes - (Sonnet IV)

When reinterment from oblivious ages,

In better stanzas her surviving wonder:

I may oppose against the monster-rages

That part desert and excellence asunder:

That she, though coy, may yet survive to see,

Her beauty's wonder lives again in me.

Drayton writes - (Sonnet VI)

How many paltry foolish things,

That now in coaches tremble every street,

Shall be forgotten (whom no poet sings)

Ere they be well wrapped in their winding sheet!

Where I, to thee Eternity shall give!

It is true that Ronsard harps on the same theme in a variety of tones, but we cannot believe that the Elizabethan poets owe the suggestion to him. It is a common Renaissance theme, beginning with Dante and Petrarch. We may further note that the Elizabethan

poets sometimes develop the theme, each in his individual way. Perhaps this splendid Renaissance pride receives a unique and unsurpassable expression in Shakespeare:

But thy eternal summer shall not fade
Not lose possession of that fair thou owest;
Nor shall Death brag thou wanderest in his shade
When in eternal lines to time thou growest:

So long as men can breathe or eyes can see,
So long lives this; - and this gives life to thee.

Now we may note the physical description that occurs in the Elizabethan sonnets. It owes something to the Pleiade. Petrarch ~~generally~~ eschews physical description, and if there is any in his sonnets, it is rather abstract and general. Nor do we think that the description of the physical beauty of their mistresses by the Pleiade poets is either ~~concrete or very~~ very concrete and sensuous. Like the theme of the sonnets, it is only a conventional type of description, in which lips are constantly likened to coral or roses, set in cheeks of snow; teeth to ivory; hair to gold and eyes to darting arrows or rays of fire. We have noted that Greene, Lodge and the Earl of Oxford in The Phoenix Nest use almost the identical phrases, epithets and analogies in the description of their mistresses. We have shown above that Greene and Lodge sometimes sought their inspiration direct from the Pleiade, but we are not so sure about the Earl of Oxford. We may note in this connection a description by A.W. (England's Helicon) which runs in the same strain, and of which the source is evidently French, as indicated by the metrical form of the poem:

First, her brow a beauteous globe

I deem,

And golden hair;

And her cheek Aurora's robe

Doth seem

But far more fair.

Her eyes like stars are bright,

And dazzle with their light;

Rubies her lips to see,
 But to taste nectar they be,
 Orient pearls her teeth, her smile

Doth link

The Graces three;

Her white neck doth eye beguile

To think

It ivory.

In the Elizabethan sonnets we come across the same type of description, but not so richly illustrated. We may take one typical example from ~~Spenser~~ Spenser, though it is suggested by Ronsard's sonnet(Marchands, qui recherchez), ~~tant le rivage~~ ~~examine~~

Ye tradeful Merchants, that, with weary toil,
 Do seek most precious things to make your gain;
 And both the Indias of their treasure spoil;
 What needeth you to seek so far in vain?
 For lo, my love doth in herself contain
 All this world's richest that may far be found:
 If sapphires, lo, her eyes be sapphires plain;
 If rubies, lo, her lips be rubies sound;
 If pearls, her teeth be pearls, both pure and round;
 If ivory, her forehead ivory ween;
 If gold, her locks are finest gold on ground;
 If silver, her fair hands are silver sheen:

But that which fairest is, but few beheld,

Her mind adorned with virtues manifold.

For the source of ~~comparisons~~ ^{the} ~~we~~ similes used here, we may compare either Ronsard's Amours I, xxiii or A Sa Dame (Sonnet a la Fin des Odes, 1553).

We need not go into the question of ~~French borrowing~~ the borrowing, or adaptation, or literal translation of the Pleiade sonnets by the Elizabethans. The subject has been well thrashed out by ^{the late} Sir Sidney Lee in his Elizabethan Sonnets and by Professor Kastner in his ~~article~~ article on The Elizabethan Sonneteers and the French poets (Modern Language Review, April 1908). We may note

here only that Desportes exercised a more dominant influence on the Elizabethan sonneteers than any other member of the Pleiade. As Kastner writes, "Ronsard and Desportes were the French poets for whom the Elizabethans showed a marked predilection, more especially the latter, whose hyperboles and strained metaphors conceits appear to have had a strange fascination for his contemporaries." The change from clearness of note, natural ease and spontaneity, lyric fervour and lyric melody in Ronsard to a laboured, conceited style in Desportes is striking. Desportes stands for Italianism, as Ronsard stands for Helenism. And the worst vices of Desportes are repeated in Elizabethan sonnets with still worse exaggeration.

We may make here an exception of Daniel, though Sidney Lee remarks that he was most heavily indebted to Desportes. As a matter of fact we find in Daniel Ronsardian echoes, very exquisitely rendered. We may quote one or two instances:

Delia XXXIV.

Look, Delia! how we 'steem the half-blown rose,
 (The image of thy blush! and summer's honour)
 Whilst in her tender green, she doth inclose
 The pure sweet beauty Time bestows upon her!
 No sooner spreads her glory in the air,
 But straight her full-blown pride is in declining;
 She then is scorned, that late adorned the fair.
 So clouds thy beauty, after fairest shining!
 No April can revive thy withered flowers,
 Whose blooming grace adorns thy glory now!
 Swift speedy time, feathered with flying hours,
 Dissolves the beauty of the fairest brow.
 O let not then such riches waste in vain!
 But love! whilst thou may'st be loved again!

In the next sonnet(XXXV) he continues:

But love! whilst thou may'st be loved again!
 Now, whilst thy May hath filled thy lap with flowers!
 Now, whilst thy beauty bears without a stain!

Now, use thy summer smiles, ere winter lowers!
 And whilst thou spreadest unto the rising sun,
 The fairest flower that ever saw the light.

He repeats it in sonnet (XLVI):

Flowers have a time, before they come to seed;
 And she is young, and now must sport the while.
 Ah, sport! sweet Maid! in seasons of these years;
 And learn to gather flowers before they wither!

We may examine here another contention of Sidney Lee. He writes, "The songs of Anacreon and the Greek Anthologists, the idylls of Theocritus and his school, supplied the threads of which many Elizabethan lyrics were woven. Conceits of the Greek lyric streaked Elizabethan poetry almost as richly as the verse of the French Renaissance. But the Greek imagery is very often a direct reflection of the Pleiade temper. French adaptation of Greek lyric or idyll is frequently the immediate source of the Elizabethan inspiration." In one or two instances we can ~~point~~ point to the Pleiade influence. Here is a song from Thomas Bateson's First Set:

Down from above falls Jove in rain
 Into fair Danae's lap amain.
 She starts thereat, yet lamblike still
 At last performeth all his will.
 Both high and low such golden gifts
 Will put their conscience to the shift.

The image of Jupiter descending in a shower of rain upon Danae is ultimately suggested by the Greek Anthology. But perhaps the immediate source is Ronsard. Ronsard adapted this image in one of his sonnets (Amours I, xx):

Je voudrois bien, richement jaunissant,
 En pluye d'or goutte à goutte descendre
 Dans le giron de ma belle Cassandre
 Lors qu'en ses yeux le somme va glissant.

It has been literally translated by Lodge in sonnet XXXIV. The theme seems to have captured Ronsard's fancy. In a magnificent passage in one of his odes he describes Jupiter coming in the

form of a swan to Leda. We cannot forget at the same time that Elizabethan poets often studied Greek, Latin and Italian verse at first hand; and sometimes it is difficult to say whether an image or sentiment is directly borrowed or through the medium of the Pleiade. Many a pretty fancy is woven round the image of dawn. Here is one example from Orlando Gibbons' Canzonets or Little Aers to 5 and 6 Voices:

Lo! where with flowery head and hair all brightsome,

Rosy cheeked, crystal eyed, e'en weeping lightsome,

The fresh Aurora springeth!

And wanton Flora flingeth

Amorous odours unto the winds delightsome!

Ah! for pity and anguish!

Only my heart doth languish!

The Elizabethan poet might have caught a stray hint from the Pleiade for similar descriptions, but we cannot be very sure.

As to the metrical debt of the Elizabethans to the Pleiade we may first point out that the tail-rhyme stanza (a a b c c b) which is such a favourite with Greene (Menaphon's Song) and Lodge (My Bonie Lasse) might have been popularised by Ronsard (we may compare his ode - Bel aubespain verdissant). The revived use of the Alexandrine by the Pleiade might have something to do with Sidney's use of the same in the sonnet. Sidney Lee claims Ronsard to be the inventor of the stanza a b a b a of "Who is Sylvia?", and observes that Drayton uses the most familiar French rhyme scheme a a b a b in his To Himself and the Harp. Then the poems in the form of ode, examples of which are pretty common among the Elizabethans, and which consist of a series of regular brief stanzas, varying in number, but uniform in construction, are likely to have been due to the influence of the Pleiade. Sidney Lee writes that "it was the French adaptation of the Horatian

~~The~~ Elizabethan poets, who have not appear to be a serious offence at all. They have enriched and transformed the borrowed material with nothing of their own. All the sweetness of the French is still

vogue which explains the entry of the 'ode' into Elizabethan England." We may particularly mention here the odes of Drayton; for though he seemed to be under the spell of Pindar and Anacreon as he proposed to follow ~~th~~ 'the inimitable Pindarus,' and the odes of Anacreon, 'the very delicacies of the Grecian ~~Erato~~ Erato, which muse seemed to have been the minion of that Teian old man which composed them," his ballads were really formed on the model of Horace.

We may add in conclusion that whatever the Elizabethans borrowed or adapted from the Pleiade, they were able to give to it a new tone and colour - they sometimes even touched it with creative genius. Even a translator can be original; it depends upon the attitude of the individual author to the idea he deals with. Sidney Lee notices that Lodge, in one or two instances, improves on the original, heavily as he charges him with literary thefts. After all this charge of literary thefts, which Sidney Lee and Kastner push beyond logical limits should be interpreted more liberally. Ideas and sentiments were common property in those days of the Renaissance, and imitation was a favourite Renaissance theory. As one critic significantly states (The Pleiade and the Elizabethans, The Edinburgh Review, April, 1907), "Their whole scheme of poetry was, as we know, founded upon Du Bellay's 'Defense et Illustration de la Langue Francaise' which preached the evangel of imitation as the only true basis of poetic life. And apart from this, they definitely believed in having all things literary common; they practised a kind of intellectual socialism....." He further adds, "When a Renaissance poet wrote verses, his fellow-poets fell on the same theme, and tried to excel him in fancy, laying hands on any word, or any metaphor, that served their purpose at the moment."

In the light of such a theory the charge of plagiarism which Sidney Lee and Kastner have been at such pains to establish against ~~particular~~ Elizabethan poets, ~~xxx Lodge and Daniel, etc~~, does not appear to be a serious offence at all. It is undeniable that they have enriched and transformed the borrowed ~~the~~ material with something of their own. All the sweetness and grace, all the lilt

and cadence, the gossamer fancy, the tender sentiment which characterise their lighter lyric, even when directly influenced by the Pleiade, are the result of a happy assimilation and absorption of foreign sustenance - and they have a distinctly English note. We quote below again from The Edinburgh Review, April 1907:

"Of course ~~they~~ there are song-metres, broken lines, refrains, subtle harmonies, which, England borrowed from France. Ronsard's 'Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois,' his 'Hirondelles,' or Remy Belleau's 'Avril,' must have inspired many an experiment among a people eager to try all things. But even so, these measures were transformed ~~by~~ by the nature of the English tongue. The constant and most musical use of dissyllabic rhymes, impossible in French where the rhyme generally falls on the last syllable, makes in itself an essential difference in rhythm.

'Sleep is a reconciling,
A rest that peace begets;
Doth not the sun rise smiling
When fair at even he sets?
Rest you then, rest, sad eyes!
Melt not in weeping
While she lies sleeping
Softly, now softly, lies
Sleeping.'

"What would these lines be without the melodious interlacings of liquid dissyllabic rhymes, and, with them, how English is its harmony! Even if the metre came from France, we succeeded in making it English. And whatever we owe in this way to the French, whether or no our forms were derived from the Pleiade, the fact remains that, for a large number of important metres, we had precedent enough at home. That French and Italian influences were at work among us, that they affected our technique, is undeniable; but need we spend much conscience in computing exactly how much this was?"

C H A P T E R XVI

Ben Jonson and John Donne

The epoch of the Elizabethan lyric may be said to begin with the publication of Spenser's Shepheardes Calender in 1579. Spenser and Sidney are the two outstanding figures, and the minor poets may be more or less grouped round them. Both are responsible for the introduction of Italian influence which formulated itself in pastoral tradition and convention. England's Helicon, as we have noted above, is the best exponent of Italianate fluidity and diffuseness. A variety of lyrical forms too is exhibited in England's Helicon. As a matter of fact England's Helicon represents the results of consummated experiments in verse forms and diction (which developed in the direction of ornateness) and conventionalised sentiment. In Davison's Poetical Rhapsody, even if the Elizabethan lyric tradition is continued, there is already the stirring of a new impulse. In the group of poems, subscribed "A.W.", Latin seems to be a marked influence, and A. W.'s chastened dignity of expression, artistic reserve and sonorous music are in remarkable contrast to Italianate florid luxuriance and liquid melody. Interesting too are his experiments in classical metres. Perhaps A.W. is the first unconscious rebel against the tyranny of Italian influence, if though he does not discard the themes, pastoral or otherwise, of the Elizabethan lyric. A.W. should, at any rate, be given the praise for drawing upon a new source of revitalising the lyric - viz. Latin lyric and elegiac poetry. In the song-books again there does not seem to be much trace of Italian influence. In stark simplicity of phrasing, in rippling melody and rhythm, in sheer joy of description, these songs seem to testify more to French than to Italian influence. In the work of Thomas Campion it is again Latin which is the shaping influence. He thoroughly assimilated

and interpreted the cynical, sensual and realistic strain of Latin lyric and elegiac poetry. He has the ideal strain too, but it has nothing to do with the high-flown Italianate rhetoric - it is touched with the pensive grace of the Latin ~~lyric~~ lyric. We might say that the true cleavage between Elizabethans and Jacobeans begins with Campion. We have a distinctly new note in Campion.

Ben Jonson is a declared rebel against the Elizabethan tradition and convention. His source of inspiration again is the Latin lyric. He begins by discarding the ornate diction and conventional imagery of the Elizabethans. He is a champion of stern realism. Apart from the remarkable simplicity of phrasing which so distinguishes Jonson, perhaps the new spirit is ~~nowhere~~ nowhere better expressed than in his absolutely realistic imagery. We quote below the last stanza of The Triumph of Charis

Have you seen but a bright lily grow,
 Before rude hands have touched it?
 Have you marked but the fall o' the snow
 Before the soil hath smutched it?
 Have you felt the wool of beaver?
 Or swan's down over?
 Or have smelt o' the bud o' the brier?
 Or the nard in the fire?
 Or ~~tasted~~ have tasted the bag of the bee?
 O so white! O so soft! O so sweet is she!

It is interesting here to compare Jonson with the Elizabethans whose descriptions of the physical charms of their mistresses are patterned alike and conventional.

Jonson's poetry is sometimes reminiscent of his classical studies. Or as J.A.Symonds puts it, "He struggled under the weight of his encumbered memory." Perhaps a good example is

his cynical view

his lyric - Drink to me only with thine eyes. It is pointed out that for the ideas he is indebted to scattered passages in the love letters of Philostratus. He has, however, set the borrowed ideas in a new context, and breathed a new meaning into the whole thing. The line in the original ran thus: 'Put the cup to thy lips, fill it with kisses and give it me so;' the magic of Jonson's genius transforms it into:

Or leave a kiss ~~but~~ in the cup,

And I'll not look for wine.

His charming songs to Celia - Come, my Celia, let us prove and Kiss me, Sweet are imitated from Catullus. The note of natural voluptuousness that we observed in Campion is there. Here is another example:

I will but mend the last, and tell

When, how, it would have relished well;

Join lip to lip and try:

Each suck the other's breath,

And whilst our tongues perplexed lie

Let who will think us dead, or wish our death.

Jonson too, it seems now and then, with all his classical restraint, can sing of the rapt joy of love. Sometimes he toys with the conventional love theme. We may compare:

Oh do not wanton with those eyes.

In the last stanza there is even an approach to a fanciful hyperbole. Can beauty, that did prompt me first to write is an example in which he touches on the Petrarchan attitude of adoration and plays on a conceit. Here is a poem in which he makes use of a series of hyperboles, obviously with a satirical intention-

By those bright eyes, at whose immortal fires

Love lights his torches to inflame desires;

By that fair stand, your forehead, whence he bends

His double bow, and round his arrows send;

By that tall grove, your hair.....

His cynical view of woman is well expressed in the following:

And Let me be what I am; as Virgil cold,
 As Horace fat, or as Anacreon old;
 No poet's verses yet did ever move,
 Whose readers did not think he was in love.

We shall take one more example - In defence of their constancy:

Hang up those dull and curious fools,
 That talk abroad of woman's change;
 We were not bound to sit on stools,

Our proper virtue is to range:
 Take that away, you take our lives;
 We are no women then, but wives.

Jonson has altogether a new note, when he touches on the pathos of the death of children. We may compare Salathiel Pavy. It has in it an undertone of sorrow which, however deeply felt, is hushed into resignation. It is marked by a "gracious play of fancy between smiles and tears," which, as the critics of Jonson point out, was probably caught by Jonson from Martial. There is one interesting poem in which Jonson joins issues with Campion - A Fit of Rhyme against Rhyme.

Finally we come to what have been described as Propertian elegies in the Underwoods, 4 in number - (1) 'Tis true I'm broke; (2) To make the doubt clear, that no woman's true; (3) That love is a bitter sweet, I ne'er conceive; (4) Since you must go, and I must bid farewell. The second poem has been ascribed to Donne. In these four poems passion, scorn, anger kindle to a glow which is rarely suspected in Jonson. Herford and Simpson (Ben Jonson: The Man and his Work) write that they "strangely recall Donne's strikingly individual manner, while they have no parallel in Jonson," and quote the following passage:

As I O, that you could but by dissection see
 How much you are the better part of me;

How all my Fibres by your spirit doe move,
 And that there is no life in me but love.....
 Your forme shines here, here fixed in my heart;
 I may dilate myselfe, but not depart.
 Others, by common stars their courses run,
 When I see you, then I doe see my Sun
 Till then 'tis all but darknesse, that I have ,
 Rather than want your light, I wish a grave.

(Underwoods, XXXVIII)

The subtlety of thought here comes very near Donne's, but the remarkable simplicity of phrasing and the total absence of conceit (the turn of thought in the first of the four elegies, particularly, may be 'metaphysical,' but there is little trace of 'metaphysical wit') are entirely Jonsonian. If anything, these four elegies reveal an unsuspected depth of feeling, and a rare strain of earnestness in Jonson. The first of the elegies is concerned mainly with an appeal to the lady to forgive the erring poet. The figure with which it opens is characteristic of Jonson. The theme is developed with Jonsonian amplitude and elaboration. The subtlety of thought apart, the imagery is clear-cut - it has nothing of a recondite suggestion:

O may your wisdom take example hence!
 God lightens not at man's each frail offence;

He pardons slips, goes by a world of ills,
 And then his thunder frights more than it kills.
 He cannot angry be, but all must quake;
 It shakes even Him that all things else doth shake.
 And how more fair and lovely looks the world
 In a calm sky, then when the heaven is hurled
 About in clouds, and ~~xxx~~ wrapt in raging weather,
 As all with storm and tempest ran together.

The second elegy is expressive of eloquent scorn. It is Jonson's favourite theme again - inconstancy of woman:

James. To make the doubt clear, that no woman's true,
Was it my fate to prove it full in you?
Thought I, but one had breathed the purer air,
And must she needs be false, because she's fair?
Is it your beauty's mark, or of your youth,
Or your perfection, not to study truth?
Or think you heaven is deaf, or hath no eyes,
Or those it hath wink at your perjuries?
Are vows so cheap with women? or the matter
Whereof they're made, that they were writ in water,
And blown away with wind?

The
In ^a third elegy there is Jonson's usual sarcastic note in the description of the 'grave lover':

But the grave lover ever was an ass;
Is fixed upon one leg, and dares not come
Out with the other, for he's still at home;
Like the dull wearied crane, that, come on land,
Doth while he keeps his water, betray his stand.

The fourth elegy is concerned with the absence of the mistress and the change that it may work in him. We quote the last few lines:

No, that's worth a fear,
As if it were not worthy to be there;
O, keep it still; for it had rather be
Your sacrifice, than here remain with me;
And so I spare it; come what can become
Of me, I'll softly tread unto my tomb;
Or, like a ghost, walk silent amongst men,
Till I may see both it and you again.

Can we trace any metaphysical tendency in Jonson? We think that there is just a touch of it in the following (An Ode to James, Earl of Desmond):

Nor think yourself unfortunate,
If subject to the jealous errors
Of politic pretext, that wries a state;
Sink not beneath these terrors:

But whisper, O glad innocence,
Where only a man's birth is his offence;
Or the disfavour
Of such as savour
Nothing, but practise upon honour's thrall.
O Virtue's fall!
When her dead essence, like the anatomy
In Surgeon's hall,
Is but a statist's theme to read phlebotomy.

Jonson is not certainly a supreme master of the lyric art. We quote below from Herford and Simpson: "Jonson had, in his rich but somewhat oddly assorted mental endowment, some qualities of the lyric poet, in an extraordinary measure; of others, and these perhaps the most essential, he had less than many minor singers of his time. His speech had the personal accent which communicates individual quality and colour to whatever matter it conveys. He had the vehement and passionate temperament without which song is apt to be only a gracious exercise. But he had no native well-spring of verse-music; and such music as he wins by his extraordinarily cunning artistry is rarely ineffable. His passion, again, was not on the whole the high-wrought enthusiasm which cannot utter itself sufficiently save through rhythm and figure."

Jonson sometimes writes crabbed and harsh verse. But in the best of his lyrics he can easily achieve chiselled perfection which has the appeal of intellectual beauty. We may compare his Hymn to Diana. He is always painstaking, always

fancy, little touched by passion - a fancy that skins along the careful as an artist. "Still to be neat, and drest," - that applies particularly to his art. He generally lacks spontaneity and passion. His poetry has a greater share of the intellect and senses than of imagination and heart. All the same ~~the~~ his finish and perfection, even the hard glint of his lines, too severely chosen, and the ordered harmony of his rhythm cannot but extort admiration.

Now coming to the metaphysical lyric, we shall have to consider what the metaphysical wit really implies, and what was the change wrought by it in the character of the lyric. The metaphysical strain in Donne is compounded of many simples - the logic of the mediaeval schoolman, keen analytical interest in human experiences, particularly of love and religion, an intervening tone of personal reflection.

Professor Grierson takes "metaphysical" in the sense of fantastic. And "fantastic" here, if we hold it in its original connection with fancy, connotes (particularly in the case of Donne) a subtle, searching, ubiquitous fancy, a fancy wedded to a profound, analytical intellect. The metaphysical strain then implies the dominance of the intellectual element, which fundamentally changes the character of the lyric. If none of his followers - Herbert, Vaughan, Crashaw, approach Donne in subtlety and depth of intellect, their lyrics are marked by the play of intellect, sometimes passionately apprehending the realities of their experience. The contrast with the Elizabethan lyric is at once perceptible in the character of the conceits which are suggestive of a higher reach of thought and wider sweep of the imagination, and also in the dialectical evolution of the theme. Secondly the kindling of the imagination and passion and thought is there - an intensely personal note, the expression of passionately ~~apprehended~~ apprehended realities of life often in a turbid and tumultuous manner. But in the Elizabethan lyric the noted characteristic is the panoramic pictures, constantly changing and dissolving, of a decorative and gilded

fancy, little touched by passion - a fancy that skims along the surface of life and delights the reader with an infinite variety of pleasing and romantic images. The conceits of the Elizabethans again are the mere expression of their light-winged fancy, and here the distinction between verbal wit and intellectual wit (that is, metaphysical wit) becomes clearly noticeable. *Here, however, it is crossed by realism.*

The difference is no less remarkable when we compare the love-lyrics of the Elizabethans with those of Donne. Not only the imagery, mood and expression are marked by a note of passionate intensity - personal and realistic, but Donne deliberately discards the Petrarchan convention and phraseology of woman-worship, and the classical tags and imagery of Italianate pastoralism. The infinite variety of the moods and experiences of a lover has been nowhere so actually and passionately described as in the lyrics of Donne. In the poems addressed to Lady Bedford and Mrs. Herbert there is the strain of Petrarchan idealism, but it is expressed in highly metaphysical style. We may compare here the last stanza of The Relique:

With more, not only by us granted,
But First, we lov'd well and faithfully,
And Yet knew not what we lov'd, nor why,
Love Difference of sex no more we knew,
Than our Guardian Angels do;
But as Coming and going, we

Perchance might kiss, but not between those meals;

The conflict between Our hands ne'er touched the seals,
Love and Which nature, injur'd by late law, sets free:

These miracles we did; but now alas,
All measure, and all language, I should pass,
Should I tell what a miracle she was.

How different is this from Petrarchan phraseology and imagery! We may compare too Air and Angels. The poem opens on an idealistic note:

We like sculptured statues lay:

Twice or thrice had I loved thee,
 Before I knew thy face or name;
 So in a voice, so in a shapeless flame,
 Angels affect us oft, and worshipp'd be;
 Still when, to where thou wert, I came,
 Some lovely glorious nothing I did see. -
 but as the theme progresses, it is crossed by realism.

What is the real note then in his love-lyrics? The physical element in love - the fleshly craving which is ultimately the basis of love, however it may be rationalised and transfigured, is the note to which he gives utterance in his lyrics. Perhaps we have a definite statement of his creed in Love's Growth:

I scarce believe my love to be so pure
 As I had thought it was,
 Because it doth endure
 Vicissitude, and season, as the grass;
 Methinks I lied all winter; when I swore,
 My love was infinite, if spring make it more.
 But if this medicine, love, which cures all sorrow
 With more, not only be no quintessence,
 But mixt of all stuffs, paining soul, or sense,
 And of the Sun his working vigour borrow,
 Love's not so pure, and abstract, as they use
 To say, which have no Mistress but their Muse,
 But as all else, being elemented too,
 Love sometimes would contemplate, sometimes do.
 The conflict between this physical love and a higher i.e. divine love does not trouble him as it troubled Spenser and Sidney.

But his superb intellect and imagination do sometimes transfigure this passion; and the result which is portrayed we cannot describe as anything spiritual, but as the rapt and transcendental joy of a preeminently intellectual voluptuary. We may compare here The Ecstasy:

And whilst our souls negotiate there,
 We like sepulchral statues lay;

All day, the same our postures were,

And we said nothing, all the day.

If any, so by love refin'd,

That he soul's language understood,

And by good love were grown all mind,

Within convenient distance stood,

He(though he knew not which soul spake,

Because both meant, both spake the same)

Might thence a new concoction take,

And part far purer than he came.

This Ecstasy doth unperplex

(We said) and tell us what we love,

We see by this, it was not sex,

We see, we saw not what did move:

But as all several souls contain

Mixture of things, they know not what,

Love these mix'd souls doth mix again,

And makes both one, each this and that.

And then the significant cry in the poem-

But O alas, so long, so far

Our bodies why do we forbear?

They are ours, though they are not we, We are

The intelligences, they the spheres.

We owe them thanks, because they thus,

Did us, to us, at first convey,

Yielded their forces, sense, to us,

Nor are dross to us, but allay.

So we should differentiate here his love-experience from Spenser's or Sidney's, which at bottom a physical passion masquerades as a spiritual one, or from Campion's or Jonson's frank sensuality which never knows the rapt joy of love.

The strain of sensuality, as we have noted above, is the contribution of Latin lyric. It appears in Donne as well as in Campion and Jonson. But what Donne does is to elaborate

and enrich this sensuality by a passionate intellect and imagination. What sublimation of sensual love in The Anniversary!

All Kings, and all their favourites,

All glory of honours, beauties, wits,

The Sun itself, which makes times, as they pass,

Is elder by a year, now, than it was

When thou and I first one another saw:

All other things to their destruction draw,

Only our love hath no decay;

This, no to-morrow hath, nor yesterday,

Running it never runs from us away,

But truly keeps his first, last, everlasting day.

In dwelling upon this aspect of his love-experience, we should note too that sometimes a mystic strain crosses the metaphysical strain - both an inheritance from the Middle Ages. He portrays a mood that is mystic, but in the analysis of it which he carries out with the subtlety of a schoolman, there comes in his metaphysical wit. He becomes metaphysical in the exposition of his train of thoughts.

Then as to the character of his imagery he has nothing to do with the fanciful, or picturesque, or mythological images of the Elizabethans. He seeks to express himself in living imagery, imagery coloured with the forceful personality of his thoughts. We just quote the first stanza of The Canonization as an illustration:

For God's sake hold your tongue, and let me love;

Or chide my palsy, or my gout,

My five grey hairs, or ruin'd fortune flout;

With wealth your state, your mind with arts improve,

Take you a course, get you a place,

Observe his Honour, or his Grace,

Or the King's real, or his stamped face

Contemplate; what you will, approve,

So you will let me love.

It is not enough to say that his images are realistic, or drawn from everyday life or from his quaint mediaeval lore. They move to the measure, and take shape according to the nature of, his thoughts, simple or subtle, fantastic or passionate. In no poet imagery and thought are so closely welded together.

In this connection we may note too that his thoughts, because of their startling originality, demand to be expressed with a certain degree of emphasis - which, apart from impressing his imagery, sometimes breaks through the verse or rhythm-pattern - the rhetorical stress superseding the metrical stress. Professor Grierson draws particular attention to this feature of his verse. It can be partly explained by the nature of his thoughts, tumultuous and onrushing, and by the dialectical way in which they are developed. Or as Professor Grierson puts it, "For Donne is not simply, no poet could be, willing to force his accent, to strain and crack a prescribed pattern; he is striving to find a rhythm that will express the passionate fullness of his mind, the fluxes and refluxes of his moods; and the felicities of his verse are as frequent and startling as those of his phrasing. He is one of the first masters, perhaps the first, of the elaborate stanza or paragraph in which the discords of individual lines or phrases are resolved in the complex and rhetorically effective harmony of the whole group of lines."

The point is that whenever Donne breaks up the sequence of metrical stress, he trusts to his ear to restore the broken cadence by an adjusting balance of emphasis. No poet's cadence depends so absolutely on his meaning. At his best Donne is capable of subtle, soaring and reverberating harmonies. The intercrossing of metrical and rhetorical stresses does not, as one might expect, produce, in the case of Donne, cacophany. Only the rhetorical emphasis of Donne in his verse removes his lyrics from the sphere of pure song.

As the result of the predominance of the intellectual element in the lyric now either in the shape of subtle dialectic or deep and pregnant thought, there appears the divergence between the sung lyric and the spoken lyric. The impulsive note of the Elizabethan lyric is now gone. The rhythm makes all the difference. It is easy to see that Donne's lyric does not sing itself. If among the poets of the mid-seventeenth century a Herrick or a Suckling may catch the clear pelucid accent of song, it is obvious that it is ~~different~~ something different from what it used to be - there is little of the earlier careless rapture, and it seems that the study of Latin has taught the muse an artificial grace.

The change in the tone and character of love-lyrics after Donne is quite distinct. Of course the personal note Donne introduced drops out; nor is there in subsequent love-lyrics anything like the complexity of Donne's moods and experiences. Yet the noted characteristic of such poems distinguishes them from the Elizabethan lyrics. Love has become more natural, if not quite realistic, often bordering on the sensual, but otherwise calm and restrained, sometimes witty and cynical, but always expressed in simpler and more natural language.

We sum up our conclusion in the words of Herford and Simpson: ".....both stood with assured and peremptory convictions for a revolution in poetry. Both in different terms challenged the supreme poet of the previous generation, Spenser. Both stood for a masculine spirit in poetry, weighty, pregnant, concentrated, against a poetry of facile melody and melting phrase. Both sought to enlarge the intellectual compass of poetry, to charge it with more insistent thought, to bring it into more intimate relation with knowledge. The erudite temper of the Jacobeans is eloquent in both. No doubt the spheres of their erudition are widely different, like their uses of it. Donne's metaphysical wit haunts the crumbling but still imposing edifice of mediaeval scholasticism and the vast shadowy profiles

of the new science. Jonson's wit, whatever its 'overplus,' was not 'metaphysical' in any sense; but it commanded with secure mastery the whole field of classical learning, and had all the impetus and the ardour of the Renaissance on its side. In this respect the religious poets, especially Herbert and Crashaw, stood nearer to Donne, but almost all the cavaliers had, like Jonson, cultivated the Latin lyrists.

"Further, both Donne and Jonson helped poetry towards a vital simplicity and directness of speech. Donne's passion preserves him from stylistic embroidery. All mere decoration shrivels up in his burning soul, and the thought stands out in its naked strength. The simplicity of Donne is disguised from us by the incomparable daring of his images. But his very daring makes him infallibly direct; he leaps to his goal, impatient of those stylistic deversoria which beguile less single-souled poets. Others may elaborate a comparison;

Donne cries - to the Present Time, 1856.

She is all states: all princes I;

Nothing else is; son, 1867.

or shatters at a stroke the whole delicate fabric of amatory compliment with his

Carpenter I wonder, by my troth, what thou and I to 1700, 1857.

Gary (H.V.) Did, till we loved. in Poets.

Jonson's simplicity is of a different order and of a different origin. It owes little to the purifying flame of passion, much to the winnowing and sifting hand of art. His training had steeped him in the classics, and his temperament drew him to the plainer and more direct varieties of classical style."

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